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ABSTRACT

The twelve papers included in this second volume of Topics in Culture are related to the Institute's four areas of research interest: cultural identity, cultures in contact, language in culture, and thought and expression in cultural learning. The articles also examine one or more of four themes which transcend the four research areas: learning one's own culture, learning about another culture, formal educational programs in culture learning programs. The first theme is represented by a survey of cross-cultural research, analysis of which gives insights into one's own culture. Next, four papers on learning about another culture provide specific criteria and examples of such learning, for instance, when to use first names and nicknames. In the third topic, four papers discuss programs to preserve cultures, especially with respect to their indigeneous languages and intellectual manpower. The several papers on the fourth topic of issues in culture learning discuss the politics of cultural pluralism, the effect of participation in bicultural education, and the motives of people engaged in bilingual-bicultural programs. (JH)

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THE EAST-WEST CENTER is a national educational institution established in Hawaii by the United States Congress in 1960. Formally known as "The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West," the federally-funded Center is administered in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. Its mandated goal is "to promote better relations between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research."

Each year about 1,500 men and women from the United States and some 41 countries and territories of Asia and the Pacific area work and study together with a multi-national East-West Center staff in programs dealing with problems of mutual East-West concern. They include students, mainly at the post-graduate level; Senior Fellows and Fellows with expertise in research or practical experience in government and business administration; professional study and training participants in non-degree programs at the teaching and management levels; and authorities in various fields meeting in international conferences and seminars.

A fundamental aim of all East-West Center programs is to foster understanding and mutual respect among people from differing cultures working together in seeking solutions to common problems. The Center draws on resources of U.S. mainland universities, and Asian/Pacific educational and governmental institutions as well as organizations in the multicultural State of Hawaii.

Participants are supported by federal scholarships and grants, supplemented in some fields by contributions from Asian/Pacific governments and private foundations.

Center programs are conducted by the East-West Communication Institute, the East-West Culture Learning Institute, the East-West Food Institute, the East-West Population Institute, and the East-West Technology and Development Institute. Open Grants are awarded to provide scope for educational and research innovation.

ABOUT THE COVER . . . *Four symbols adopted by the East-West Culture Learning Institute are reproduced on the cover in addition to the East-West Center logo which suggests the four primary directions North, South, East and West. The yin-yang symbol represents the interaction of opposites in nature (e.g., positive negative, masculine feminine) according to traditional Chinese cosmology. The concept, as well as the symbol, is found throughout the Sinitic area. In the lower right is the Sanskrit term "om," used in Hinduism, Sikhism, and Lamaism as a mantra in the contemplation of ultimate reality, the "absolute." The double spiral is found in several Polynesian cultures, symbolizing cultural integration. The knot motif probably originated in South Asia, and is found extensively throughout Europe, often with the connotation of "interaction" or "interchange."*

Design by James E. Ritchie

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Volume 2 1974

Edited by Richard W. Brislin

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INTRODUCTION

There are a number of themes running throughout the twelve papers that were prepared for this second volume of Topics in Culture Learning that suggest an introduction should be written explaining them. The twelve papers could have been organized around the four subdivisions of the East-West Culture Learning Institute, namely:

1. Cultural Identity, concerned with factors of social change which inhibit or encourage the growth of identity, and programs designed to retard the erosion of identity in multicultural societies;

2. Cultures in Contact, largely concerned with change that occurs as a function of cultures coming into contact, especially changes leading either to new learning or to interference with older patterns of behavior;

3. Language in Culture, concerned with second-language teaching, language planning which includes curriculum design and teaching materials, and sociolinguistics;

4. Thought and Expression in Culture Learning, based on the premise that one of the ways culture reveals itself most fully is in the thinking which guides it, shapes its values and gives rise to its various creative exprussions.[1]

It would be easy to place the twelve papers under one of these headings. However, I would rather attempt to organize this introduction around four themes which transcend the concerns of the four Culture Learning Institute subdivisions. These themes, in addition, provide the basis for cooperation across the subdivisions in the day-to-day work of the Institute. At the same time, the themes provide some progress toward an answer to the question, "What is culture learning?" The four themes are:

1. Learning one's own culture;

2. Learning about a culture of which a person is not a member;

3. Formal educational programs designed to teach about one's own culture, or to teach about another culture;

4. Analysis of concepts and issues central to educational programs involving culture learning.

Since any treatment of culture learning has to be, at this stage of research and analysis, a very personal statement, I will occasionally refer to myself in the first person to separate my opinions from those of my colleagues who may disagree.

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Learning One's Own Culture

Culture refers to man-made aspects such as customs, laws, morals, etc., that are acquired by people as a member of a society. The methods by which children learn the culture into which they were born has been a major area investigated by anthropologists. Precourt's paper examines the issue through a review of hologeistic studies. These studies are based on information compiled from various societies as reported by various ethnographers who have done field work in each society. The hologeistic researcher examines many such ethnographies (usually 100 or more, from all over the world), records the concepts of interest to him, intercorrelates the concepts, and draws conclusions. Precourt's task was to combine the conclusions from various hologeistic studies of education into one framework. The paper points up one benefit of cross-cultural research: by looking at research conclusions from studies of various societies around the world, people can gain insight into the functioning of their own society. Cross-cultural research allows people to stand back and to see how concepts relate when a world-wide perspective is taken. Once the concepts are understood in this manner, such as the ways in which a young man's ties to his mother are broken, or the means by which adult responsibility is taught, people can think about the concepts as they exist in their own society.

Learning About a Culture of Which a Person is Not a Member

As I recall the presentations I have heard at the Culture Learning Institute over the last two and one-half years, I would guess that learning about another culture has been the most common underlying theme of the work people have done at the Institute. In her paper, Karen Watson has suggested a concrete criterion for learning another culture when she writes, "...one measure of whether a person has learned another culture is whether his/her behavior is accepted as correct and appropriate by members of that society (p. 57)." Watson is referring to everyday behaviors that are performed very frequently in any society. Four such categories of behavior, all of which can be studied empirically, are reviewed in this volume: ordinary talk and established routines of talk (Watson); the acceptable use of the first name and the nickname(s) of people with whom one has interaction (H. Van Buren); emotions as displayed, or perhaps more importantly not overtly displayed, by people (Jerry Boucher); and people's use of space, with special attention given to where they sit, while interacting with others (Richard Brislin). The ideas presented in these four papers would make excellent input into cross-cultural orientation programs designed to teach members of one culture how to get along and interact effectively in another culture. Participants in these programs often demand specific information about the culture they are learning, and these four papers (especially Van Buren's) give the types of specific, concrete input on which good programs in this area depend.

The types of behavior reviewed in these four papers are learned easily by people in their own culture without any conscious effort or instruction. In analyzing the seemingly unconscious learning process in people's first culture, anthropologists have developed the concept of the hidden curriculum (see Precourt's paper, footnote #2, page 127). Watson, Van Buren, Boucher, and Brislin emphasize that the importance of actually teaching these behaviors becomes more explicit when put into the context of learning about another culture.

Educational Programs to Teach About One's Culture or to Teach About Another Culture

The most common view of educational programs involving culture is that such programs teach about various other cultures of which a person is not a member, but there are exceptions. In recent years, various programs around the world have been established to help preserve elements of a minority group's culture in areas where their is a dominant majority culture, or to preserve the culture of small societies faced by strong outside pressures in this fast-paced, modern, technological world. An example should make both cases clear. I have heard representatives of minority cultures in the United States, and leaders of small societies in the Pacific Islands, complain that "our children are losing their culture. They do not speak the language of their parents, and they are more concerned with Coca-Cola, Rock and Roll, and American television than they are with their own culture." The papers by Verner Bickley on the Culture Learning Institute's Pacific Centers project and by Mark Lester on bilingual

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education review various programs designed to help a culture retain its indigenous language and to help instill pride in people's ethnic heritage. The results of these programs sometimes show unexpected benefits. I was especially impressed with Lester's report that when children going to school on one of the Marianas Islands learned Chamorro, they were able to talk with their parents about their schoolwork for the first time.

Closely related to these two educational programs is the seminar described by D. Ray Heisey in his analysis of the international communication program held under the auspices of the University of Uppsala in Sweden. One of the prime requirements of the program seems especially important to any effort in international communication: "At Uppsala, the research training is required to be relevant to the local needs and the scholars must return to their home institutions (p. 42)." This common sense idea has been neglected too often by organizations that sponsor students who go outside their own country to study. Hence there are problems of brain drain or disappointment upon returning home. The requirements of the Uppsala seminar are designed to overcome such problems, and Heisey's analysis of them should be helpful in the planning of other international educational programs.

The fourth paper explicitly aimed at reviewing educational programs is Peter Strevens' crystal ball look at the future of language teaching. At the Culture Learning Institute we have viewed language teaching as a central element in learning about another culture and so have long had programs in the teaching and administration of second languages. Strevens' standards for the qualified language teacher are set at a high level, for he suggests competence in the discipline of language teaching itself as well as competence in such related fields as psychology and linguistics. Some of the ideas in his paper can be related to those presented by Heisey. Strevens would analyze the needs of the country from which his students come, for instance, the available electronic technology, probable class size, etc., before establishing a curriculum designed to train new teachers. This would demand close interaction between curriculum designer and trainee in the planning of any program since the trainee would have a great deal of input. Indeed, this is one of Strevens' goals, to reduce the teacher-student distance. Undoubtedly, encouraging such trainee input would also give experience in decision making that takes such handicaps as poor budgets and low status of teachers into account so that the trainee can be a better decision maker when he or she becomes the teacher or administrator in the home country. Work in social psychology[2] suggests that when people actively work and think through the negative factors facing them in the future, they are not as likely to be affected by these factors. The types of programs outlined by Heisey and Strevens encourage the thinking through of negative aspects, and the positive results should be shown by such criteria as less brain drain and a lower turnover rate of teachers.

Analysis of Concepts and Issues Central to Educational Programs in Culture Learning

My thinking behind this thematic heading asserts boldly that there are a number of concepts and issues that must be taken into account in any analysis of culture-learning related educational programs. This point was brought home forcefully during a recent lecture I gave in which I was presenting ideas about materials development for bilingual and bicultural education. In the question and answer period I was asked to comment on the relation between my presentation and the politics of cultural pluralism (analyzed in John Berry's paper), on the nature of what people who experience bicultural education programs may become (analyzed in Peter Adler's paper on the multicultural man), and on the motives of people who engage in bilingual-bicultural educational programs (in my view, analyzed well by Gaven Daws in his paper on historical insights into European ways of thinking about Polynesians). My conclusion is that if people do not think through such issues on their own when working in the area of culture learning, they will be asked to do so by others.

Berry's paper on the nature of cultural pluralism, and on the nature of governmental decision making regarding issues of creating a national identity and encouraging/discouraging pluralism, has special relevance to the educational programs reviewed in this volume. Any time individuals engage in a program to encourage pluralism, they necessarily are making a choice as to which of Berry's patterns of group relations (in his eight cells, p. 18) is most

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desirable or at least most feasible. For instance, the article by Bickley describes a program involving democratic pluralism, assuming that the choice to support such programs is made by the leaders of the participating cultures. I was happy that Bickley detailed the decision making process on the part of the Pacific Island leaders who encouraged the project from its inception. I was also struck by the analysis in Lester's paper that some governments try to create a national identity in their country through a national language. Berry pointed out how over-emphasis on a national language can actually break down identity among the minority groups in a country, and that countries with a number of official languages can still have a national identity.

Adler's paper covers the positive and negative aspects of what can happen to people who engage in activities that lead to learning about another culture. It is not all a bed of plumeria petals. Stress and tension are common, and people involved in educational programs should be prepared for the bad as well as the good. The informed people would include both the administrators of the programs and the participants themselves. Being prepared for the positive and the negative is the best policy (see footnote #2).

The motives behind why people involve themselves in learning about another culture are important. Gavan Daws, in his analysis of European thinking about Polynesia in the 18th and 19th centuries, has suggested some, such as (1) dissatisfaction with the status-quo in one's first culture; (2) desire to return to the more secure, perhaps more care free days of youth, and (3) a missionary-like zeal to spread what one thinks is the truth. A major value of Daws' historical analysis is the insights he has achieved that can benefit other researchers doing different types of studies. For instance, after a lecture at which Daws presented some of the ideas contained in his paper (April, 1974), Jane Hurd (a Culture Learning Institute degree seeking student and also a participant in the program described by Bickley) suggested that someone could analyze the motives behind contract teachers going to the various islands of Micronesia to work in the local school systems. Perhaps the motives will be the same as those suggested by Daws. Another project might be to analyze the reasons for being involved in cultural preservation programs. Understanding of the motives would help in designing communications to attract new recruits. Again, however, note the political ramifications of any decision to do such applied research, as outlined by Berry, and as suggested in special reference to bilingual education by Lester.

All the papers in this volume have implications for educational programs, and through an understanding of such critical issues as those analyzed by Berry, Adler, and Daws, such programs should become more precise and more effective.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Descriptions of the four subdivisions were adapted from material in the East-West Culture Learning Institute Bulletin, 1973-1974.

[2]A very readable summary of the research on thinking through the negative aspects that might confront people in the future is contained in chapter 8 of A. Elms, Social Psychology and Social Relevance, Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The twelve authors who contributed to this volume were extremely cooperative in meeting deadlines for original submissions, revisions, and proofreading. Excellent administrative and secretarial support was provided by Hazel Tatsuno, Karen Shiroma, Patricia Kim, and Sharon Shimabukuro. The actual processing and printing of the volume was done with the very able assistance of Mark Zeug, Allene Tachibana, and Hideo Kon.

Richard W. Brislin

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THE PACIFIC CULTURAL CENTERS PROGRAM

VERNER C. BICKLEY
DIRECTOR
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
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The root of the Culture Learning Institute's Pacific Cultural Centers Program is togetherness and its tendrils are three interrelated projects in ethnomusicology, archives and museology. Togetherness, or collective identity, is sustained when messages are passed between the members of a culture which help them to maintain a consensus as to their appropriate individual roles, concepts and attitudes. It is reinforced when common memories, historical events, symbols and ritual are nurtured by such messages and are assigned a significant place in their culture.

Togetherness is weakened if the messages become distorted as they may when a culture is subordinated to another culture, as in the case of a colonial society, or when there is loss of trust between members of a society and leaders in that society, or when a cultural heritage is damaged or destroyed because of over-rapid social and economic change.

Steensberg (1971, p. 5) reminds us of the dangers threatening Danish cultural identity after that country's defeat by Bismarck, Germany and the Austrian Empire in 1864. Following the motto "What was lost abroad should be recovered at home," the people overcame these dangers, partly as the result of economic and political innovations, but also by virtue of an accompanying cultural revival sparked by the Danish National Museum, the keepers of many local museums, and by enthusiasts such as Tang-Kristensen who roamed the countryside collecting ballads and legends and who left the richest archive of this kind collected by any single person in Europe.

Freed from colonial ties, many nations in our own time have placed high value on economic progress. It is, however, the collective identity of a people which binds them together, as Mayer (1972, p. 6) points out:

> The search for such identification takes one beyond the written history of a country. As we study the past in the developing world, we find that past emerging from music, dance, painting, sculpture, and not written documentation... We must record the music; we must film the dance patterns; we must clean and repair the paintings and sculptures.

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Steps Leading to the Development of the Pacific Cultural Centers Program

As representatives of nations involved in a search for identification or seeking to maintain togetherness, the participants in the Pacific Cultural Centers Program are concerned with the messages which may be conveyed by artefacts, music, song texts and dance forms and by transcriptions of history and literature transmitted by word of mouth.

Plans to launch the Program as a project in the Institute's thematic area Cultural Identity were made following the Meeting on Studies of Oceanic Cultures sponsored by the Australian National Advisory Committee for UNESCO and held in Canberra in January, 1971 and the Meeting of Experts on the Study of Oceanic Cultures held, again under UNESCO auspices, in Suva, Fiji, in September, 1971. It was the opinion of the delegates who met at Canberra that attempts should be made to aim at the conservation of the cultural heritage by the establishment of appropriate institutions. The Meeting resolved (Report, p. 242):

> ...that a museum-library complex acting as a cultural center and closely tied in with the educational services is an appropriate vehicle for the conservation and development of South Pacific cultures, particularly in small island groups, because it provides the indigenous people with a focal point in their own efforts to conserve the heritage; given the provision of trained staff, proper facilities and institutional associations with other territories in the area.

Endorsing this resolution, the participants at the Suva Meeting agreed that such Centers would provide the people with a focal point in their efforts to serve and develop their own cultural heritage and its creative potential. (Report of the Meeting of Experts, p. 4).

In February, 1972, four members of the staff of the East-West Center, including the present author, visited American Samoa, Western Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, New Caledonia and Tahiti. The purpose of the trip was to discuss aspects of the East-West Center's program with government officials and educational leaders and to invite participation in projects organized by the Center's five Institutes, often in collaboration with other institutions.

The Canberra Meeting's concept of a museum-library complex which would act as a cultural center and a center for cultural development and creative activity was the subject of several discussions, as the following extracts from the trip diary of Mr. Gregory Trifonovitch, Senior Program Officer in the Institute, illustrate:

February 15, 1972 Pago Pago, American Samoa

10 a.m.	Meeting with Governor Haydon who described recent developments in American Samoa. He was receptive, congenial and cooperative.
11 a.m.	Meeting with Mr. Palauni Tuisosopo, Special Assistant to the Governor. He stressed the Administration's interest in cultural conservation, especially music, art and drama. Presently he is working with a group which is rehearsing a Samoan opera which will be presented at the Pacific Islands Festival Festival of Arts to be held in May in Fiji.
1:30 - 2:30 p.m.	Interviewed Mr. Palauni Tuisosopo and videotaped his views on cultural conservation.
2:30 - 3:45 p.m.	Visited the Samoan Museum. Mrs. Haydon, the curator, stressed the need for staff development in museology and for projects in the fine arts.

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3:45 - 4:45 p.m. Meeting with the Cultural Arts Committee. Request for information about staff development opportunities in museology, sculpture and other fine arts. Mrs. Haydon explained plans to move the museum from its present home in the Governor's mansion to the former post-office, a common meeting ground. Considerable interest expressed in the performing arts.

February 17, 1972 Apia, Western Samoa

11:45 a.m. Arrived in Western Samoa. Met at the airport by Mrs. Faga Taimailea who drove us to Aggie Grey's hotel.

2:00 p.m. Audience with the Prime Minister who expressed great interest in cultural conservation activities.

3:30 - 5:30 p.m. Met at the Nelson Memorial Library with Mataina Te'o, Siavata Nofoaiga and Mrs. Tina Ah Kuoi. Discussed oral documentation and ethnographic film-making and the role of archives in Western Samoa.

February 18, 1972

7:00 a.m. Left Apia with the Director of Education, Dr. Fanaafi Larkin, to visit schools in Aleipata and Falealili.

Sound discipline and respect. Teachers secure and sure of themselves. Students bright, healthy and contented. No particular clamour for attention. Good examples of bilingual education. The schools, the educational system, the morale, cohesion and staff unity are most impressive.

But the generosity is overwhelming! Tea and other refreshments at each school and finally a lunch for which the district secretary apologized since it was too simple and meagre. The small snack included a large baked fish, 12 lobsters, a 30 lb. baked pig, palusami, shredded meat and long rice, taro, meatballs, curried chicken, potato salad, drinking coconuts, papaya and pineapple pie, cake, fresh pineapple, coconut milk, pudding and coffee. After all this, we were presented with a 180 lb. baked pig to take back with us.

On our way back we visited Robert Louis Stevenson's residence.

February 19, 1972

Left with Dr. Larkin and Anu, the dietitian, to visit the island of Monono. Extremely informative trip which gave us some insight into the ceremonies and rituals of Samoan culture. Lunch arranged by the Chief who is also Head Master of the school. Before leaving we were presented with a roasted 80 lb. pig and a large bundle of baked breadfruit.

Dr. Larkin described her blueprint for a cultural center. She was Vice-Chairman of the Meeting of Experts on the Study of Oceanic Cultures held in Suva, Fiji, last year.

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Fijian ladies perform a sitting dance in Nakini village

Maori girls at Tamatekapua, near Rotorua perform action song.

Youths come from throughout New Zealand to learn traditional Maori carving at Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua.

Culture Learning Institute ethnomusicology participants document an early twentieth century recording of ancient Hawaiian chant in the Tape Archive of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

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Dr. Fana'afi Larkin, Western Samoa's Director of Education, displays blueprints for a proposed Samoan Cultural Center in Apia.

Australian aborigines living in Sydney perform on the trumpet-like *didjeridu*.

Young *taupou* of Alao village, American Samoa, prepares *'ava* in honor of visiting Culture Learning Institute participants.

EWC participants examine Samoan fine mat, an article of extreme value in Samoan culture.

Photos by William Feltz and Barbara B. Smith

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February 21, 1972 Tonga

Arrived in Tonga at 5:00 p.m. after crossing the International Dateline. Met at the airport by Sioeli Matoto, official interpreter from the Prime Minister's Office, Nuku'alofa. Itinerary for our visit delivered to our hotel by Mr. Sione Kite, Assistant Secretary to the Prime Minister.

February 22, 1972

8:30 a.m. Meeting with (the then) Director of Education, Mr. Robert McMurdo. He indicated Tonga's interest in the cultural center concept. He described the activities of the traditions committee and the historical committee.

9:30 a.m. Visited the "Languafonua" arts and craft Center. Hundreds of handicraft items on display. Excellent quality tapa cloth, mats, bags, woven baskets, shell leis, etc.

10:30 a.m. Met with the Minister of Education, the Honourable Dr. S. Langi Kaveleku. Dr. Kavaleku explained to us the functions of the historical and tradition committees. Interested in the activities of the East-West Center and asked to be put on our mailing list.

2:00 p.m. Met the Principal of the Wesleyan Methodist High School. He is extremely interested in Tongan history and in the conservation of old documents. Has the beginnings of an archive but said that he would appreciate some training in the principals and techniques or archival arrangement and classification and, in particular, in conservation and documentary repair.

He recommended that we visit the small museum located at Tupou College.

5:00 p.m. Observed a dance rehearsal of the Tongan troupe which will represent Tonga at the Pacific Arts Festival to be held in Fiji in May.

A 250-strong troupe led by the Governor of Ha'apai, Honourable Ve'ehala who is also the chairman of the Tongan Traditions Committee.

February 23, 1972

11:30 a.m. Visited the small museum at Tupou College. Mrs. Kingsberry, the wife of a Peace Corps Volunteer, is cataloging and organizing the collections. She also expressed interest in a staff development program for museology.

February 25, 1972 Suva, Fiji

Lengthy discussions with Mr. Bruce Palmer, Director of the Fiji Museum. He had been a participant at the Suva Meeting on the Study of Oceanic Cultures and also at the Canberra Meeting held in January last year. Gave us copies of his lecture given at the Canberra Meeting on Museums and Local Cultures in the South Pacific. Stressed the idea of the museum as a national community center. The modern museum should reach out beyond its four walls. By forsaking the more traditional role, the modern island museum can make a contribution not tied to the restrictive glass case concept of education.

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February 27, 1972 Noumea, New Caledonia

Noumea, headquarters of the South Pacific Commission which is celebrating its 25th anniversary.

2:00 p.m. Mrs. Bernadette Kurtovitch drove us to the Museum and the Aquarium. The aquarium is unique in the world in that it has succeeded in growing live coral. The museum is large with a good collection.

February 29, 1972

2:00 p.m. Met with Mr. Luke Chevallier, Museum Curator. He showed us round the museum. Excellent stone-cutting workshop.

He is enthusiastic about the possibility of his museum being a training site for a cultural centers program.

February 29, 1972 Tahiti

Gained a day by crossing International Dateline.

10:30 a.m. Met with the Director of the Department of Cultural Exchange and Selection, Mr. Marc Darnois. He was interested in our suggestions regarding a cultural centers program, but indicated that Tahiti had its own training facilities.

March 1, 1972

Met with the Director of Education, Mr. Krault and discussed the idea of the cultural center and also programs for the teaching of French as a second language.

March 2, 1972

Met with Mr. Jean-Marie Dallet from the Office of Relations and Cultural Services. Later visited Mr. Jean Jacques Laurent's collection of primitive art.

March 3, 1972

With Mr. Jean-Marie Raurii Boubee visited the Museum of Discovery which depicts the first arrivals of the Europeans into Tahiti and which has has displays describing Captain Cook's scientific and astrological research. Then visited P. Gauguin's Museum and William Harris' botanical garden (Trifonovitch, 1972, pp. 1-29).

Pacific Islands Directors of Education Workshop

The East-West Center group returned to Honolulu on March 4, 1972 and a week later the Center played host to Directors of Education from the Pacific Islands at a Workshop organized by the Culture Learning Institute in association with the South Pacific Commission. The purpose of the Workshop was to review the different educational programs of the Pacific Islands, to discuss the role of language and culture in the different educational systems and to consider major practical problems and future cooperative goals.

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Describing the work of the Culture Learning Institute at the second session of the Workshop, the present author referred briefly to the Canberra and Suva Meetings and said that the Culture Learning Institute strongly supported the resolutions passed at those Meetings in favor of policies of cultural conservation. He said that the Institute would be happy to cooperate with organizations such as the South Pacific Commission and with the Pacific Island governments in the administration of a professional staff development program which would be of value to countries wishing to establish cultural centers.

At the closing session of the Workshop, Mr. Bruce Palmer, Director of the Fiji Museum, proposed that the Culture Learning Institute consider seriously the possibility of mounting such a program. The proposal was discussed briefly and then the participants recommended unanimously that "The East-West Culture Learning Institute should organize a Pacific Cultural and Educational Centers Program in four specific areas: Museum Administration, Archives Administration, Ethnomusicology and Ethnobotany (Report of the Pacific Islands Directors of Education Workshop and Seminar, p. 39)." Bruce Palmer, Barbara Smith, and Ethel Bowen were appointed coordinators.

The Program

Planning for the Pacific Cultural Centers Program began in the Culture Learning Institute shortly after the conclusion of the Pacific Directors of Education Workshop. By the end of 1972, a curriculum had been planned and announcements describing the Program had been distributed to a large number of countries in the Pacific. These announcements gave details of a coordinated Program which would allow for intercultural exchanges within a core of seminars and lectures, as well as extended time for specialized training within the respective fields of archives, ethnomusicology and museology. Information was also given about a course to be offered in ethnobotany, but this course was cancelled because only one candidate was nominated.

The three interrelated projects of Phase One of the Program were launched in July, 1973 and this first phase ended in December of the same year. The ethnomusicology project aimed to provide its participants with instruction in the conservation and documentation of traditional styles of music. It paid particular attention to the development of new styles of artistically synthesizing newly introduced forms with traditional elements. (Smith, 1973, p. 4) The Archives project focussed on the theory and nature of archives, on the principles and techniques of archival arrangement and classification and on the principles and techniques of archival description. The maintenance and conservation of historical and literary "messages" (oral and written) and their role in the conservation of the cultural heritage was emphasized. The museology project covered the whole range of museum management and emphasized the role of the cultural center in which the creative arts should be encouraged in addition to the traditional role expected of the museum. (Palmer, 1974, p. 1). These activities occurred over a five-month period at the East-West Center.

Twenty participants were selected for the first phase of the Program from American Samoa, Saipan, Palau, Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Truk, Ponape, Marshall Islands, Tonga, Cook Islands, New Zealand, Hawaii, Papua-New Guinea and Tibet. The group included the Honorary Curator of the Cook Islands Museum, the Director of a Cultural Center in Ponape, Trust Territory, a Tibetan librarian nominated by the Office of the Dalai Lama and a teacher from Tupou College, Tonga, appointed some months after the visit described in the Trifonovitch diary.

An important feature of the program was a 28-day field trip undertaken to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa and Western Samoa. Each of the three groups spent several days in each Center in each of the five countries, sometimes in conjunction with one of the other two groups. The itinerary planned for the Archives group included visits to the Fiji National Archives, the Fiji Western Pacific Archives, the National Archives Record Center in Auckland, the Auckland Public Library, the Auckland City Art Gallery, Waikato University, the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute at Rotorua, the Wellington National Archives, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, the

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Parliamentary Library, the Black Mountain Library, Canberra, the Commonwealth Archives Office, Canberra, the National Library of Australia at Canberra, the Mitchell Library at Sydney and the Library of the Commonwealth Banking Corporation in Sydney. In American Samoa the group stayed in Nu'uuli Village with High Talking Chief Savusa Tauileva and joined the participants in the other two groups in a feast given by the Arts Council of American Samoa at Alao Village.

The Museology group visited the Fiji Museum, Auckland Institute and Museum, the Auckland Museum of Transport and Technology, a Maori fortification at Mount Eden at Auckland, the Melanesian Mission Museum, the Waikato Art Museum at Hamilton, the Rotorua Museum, the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, the Maori Church and Meeting House at Ohinemutu, the Australian Museum, Sydney, and the museum at Pago Pago, American Samoa.

The field trip for the ethnomusicology group was planned to give the participants as much experience as possible with the kinds of institutions engaged in activities relating to ethnomusicology and/or Pacific Island music, ranging from village to urban, from traditional to modern, from those inconspicuously supported by the social structure as a whole to those with highly visible support from governmental and/or commercial sponsorship (Smith, 1974, p.4). The itinerary for the group included visits to the Fiji Museum, Suva, where a performance of Cook Island music and dance was presented, the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music at Auckland, New Zealand, the Institute for Aboriginal Studies at Canberra and the National Black Theatre in Sydney.

Sponsorship of the Program Continues

Phase Two of the Pacific Cultural Centers Program will begin in September, 1974 when a different group of individuals will be invited to participate.

As was made clear at the 1971 Canberra Meeting, many countries are conscious of the urgent need to conserve the heritage, to strengthen features of their cultures which are threatened by social, political and economic advance. The Culture Learning Institute is continuing its sponsorship of the Pacific Cultural Centers Program in the belief that the creative arts and crafts are carriers of the traditions of a culture and the messages that keep togetherness or collective identity alive.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CULTURAL PLURALISM: UNITY AND IDENTITY RECONSIDERED

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In large and complex nation-states it is rare to find a population which is homogenous. The usual situation is characterized by the existence of two or more distinct groupings recognizable by cultural, racial or other socially distinctive features. This natural state of affairs has been termed pluralism, and is thought by many national leaders to be in conflict with goals of national unity. This paper is a plea for the recognition of the psychological and cultural value of pluralism; it is a plea for the maintenance of diversity within populations during the arduous process of nation-building in Africa, and elsewhere in the Third World.

The bulk of the paper, however, is devoted to laying the ground work for this plea. Firstly it considers the complementary questions of identity and unity, and then outlines a scheme for considering the various modes of relating diverse elements of the population to each other. Finally it outlines a political solution adopted in Canada, examines its possible applicability to other nations, and concludes with the suggestion of the serious consideration of a multiculturalism in various parts of the world.

Unity and Identity

Observers of political and cultural life in many countries have noted a tension between the needs of individuals for a culturally significant identity, and of states for a nationally significant unity (Frye, 1971; Segall, et.al., nd).

On the one hand it is a frequent observation that individuals find it difficult to identify with a massive and monolitic society or state; individual identities are frequently hyphenated. The social fragmentations which serve as objects of identification can be based upon regional, ethnic, linguistic, racial, class, sex or age cleavages. Whatever their basis, and whatever their manifestation, it is not possible to deny the pervasive existence of these divisions. Pan-cultural universals such as this may best be interpreted as being rooted in some general human psychological need (Berry, 1969) and the one postulated here is the need for some relatively small and stable reference and identity group.

On the other hand, national governments frequently attempt to apply policies to the entire population, in the pursuit of national unity. Many of these, of course, may not

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conflict with the individual's need for an identity; however where national policies are directed toward either the control of emerging socio-cultural diversity, or to the elimination of such pre-existing diversity, there is direct conflict between the needs and goals of the individual and the nation-state.

Most nations do not leave the issue of diversity unattended. Some have policies and goals which are designed to permit a large degree of cultural diversity within their borders. Many, however, have adopted policies which restrict internal cultural diversity (see for instance Kuper and Smith, 1971) and it to these, in various parts of the world, that this paper is directed.

Modes of Group Relations in Complex Societies

In this analysis, three questions of psychological significance will be given dichotomous answers. An eight cell scheme thereby emerges, which is necessarily simple but which may be useful in stretching the problem out for more precise and detailed analysis and empirical study; some of this analysis has been discussed in partial form previously (Sommerlad and Berry, 1970; Berry, 1971; Berry, et al., 1971; and Berry and Wilde, 1972).

The first question concerns the persistence of ethnic identity and characteristic cultural features; this question is answered simply "yes" or "no." A second question pertains to the maintenance of positive intergroup relations, including positive attitudes and frequent contact; this question is also answered simply "yes" or "no." The third question is whether the minority groups are permitted the option of answering the first two questions; this too is answered simply "yes" or "no," with the latter response implying that the answer to either of the first two questions are largely imposed by the dominant group(s). The eight patterns of answers are displayed and titled in Figure 1; each pattern

FIGURE 1
Scheme of Modes of Group Relations in Complex Societies
Based Upon Answers to Three Questions

QUESTION 1	QUESTION 2	QUESTION 3	PATTERN	
Retention of Identity?	Positive Relations?	Choice by Ethnic Group?	Number	Name
"YES"	"YES"	"YES"	1	Integration (Democratic Pluralism)
		"NO"	2	Paternal Integration (Inclusive segregation)
	"NO"	"YES"	3	Rejection (Self-segregation)
		"NO"	4	Exclusive Segregation
"NO"	"YES"	"YES"	5	Assimilation 1 (Melting pot)
		"NO"	6	Assimilation 2 (Pressure cooker)
	"NO"	"YES"	7	Marginality
		"NO"	8	Deculturation

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may be discussed briefly. Note that the terms "integration" and "assimilation," as used in this paper, refer to quite different patterns. At times, over the last 20 years and especially in the United States, the terms have been used interchangeably.

1. Integration (Democratic Pluralism)

In this decision pattern both ethnic retention and positive intergroup relations are valued by the ethnic group(s). The free and regular association of culturally-distinct groups is motivated by some mutual (national) set of goals, which is sufficient to maintain positive relations. Because the choice is free, the individual is not obliged to retain his own ethnicity, but could theoretically move from one group to another. Switzerland is an obvious example of this pattern.

2. Paternal Integration (Inclusive Segregation)

In this decision pattern, the dominant society requires the maintenance of ethnicity, and of positive intergroup relations. The ethnic individual is not entitled to take on either another set of cultural characteristics nor to engage in negative relations with the dominant society. This pattern usually requires an efficient set of social-control agents (e.g. police or passes) for its enforcement. In many respects this pattern can be represented by the emerging pattern in South Africa.

3. Rejection (Self-Segregation)

In the decision pattern, the ethnic group(s) affirm their culture and identity, but deny the usefulness of positive intergroup relations. Among highly acculturated ethnic groups, this pattern is often referred to as "reaffirmation" and is currently exemplified by Red or Black Power movements in North America, Celtic Nationalism in Europe and Négritude in Africa.

4. Exclusive Segretation

This decision pattern was more common a few years ago, when it was legally and economically possible in many countries to forcefully exclude ethnic groups from major participation in society (e.g. United States or pre-War South Africa). Nowadays, either the adoption of more democratic values, or a recognition of the economic value of ethnic groups, has lessened the frequency of this pattern.

5. Assimilation 1 (Melting Pot)

In this decision pattern, ethnic groups decide to merge their identity with the larger society in the pursuit of pervasive and general goals. This pattern may no longer be as widespread as previously, as in the case of Irish immigrants to the United States, but there is still voluntary assimilation in various parts of the world whenever an immigrant group accepts the goals of the new society and is willing to adopt the patterns of the new society to attain the goals.

6. Assimilation 2 (Pressure Cooker)

This decision pattern differs from number five in that the decision to give up one's culture is forced upon ethnic groups by the larger society. Pressure is exerted to bring about assimilation, rather than allowing this decision to the ethnic groups. This pattern is still apparent in Australia in the relation between the White majority and the Aboriginal Australians.

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7. Marginality

In this pattern ethnic groups, apparently without pressure, occupy a position between two cultural systems, belonging to neither and having few positive intergroup contacts. Examples of this pattern are Part-Aborigines in Australia, Metis in Canada, and Anglo-Indians in India; however many are developing a new culture and if successful, may move into patterns one or three (Integration or Rejection).

8. Deculturation

In this pattern, all three questions are answered negatively: no ethnic retention, no positive intergroup relations and no choice in the matter. Although all groups possess a way of life, and thus by definition a culture, this pattern (often referred to as the "culture of poverty") is so unsupportive that the term is not inappropriate. It may come about when marginal groups (pattern seven) cease to have hope or motivation, when the apathy and withdrawal which is so characteristic becomes their dominant feature.

These, then, are the eight possible patterns of group relations when three questions of psychological significance are posed, and when dichotomous answers are provided. They are necessarily based upon a psychological point of view, are necessarily restricted to the three (of many possible) questions asked, and are necessarily simple, (black and white) responses. However, they do serve to spread the issues out for view, and do indeed correspond to a number of actual systems as the examples provided illustrate.

Finally, these eight patterns do illustrate that there is a great variety of patterns possible. These range from those that permit identity (1, 2, 3 and 4), to those that do not (5, 6, 7 and 8); from those that encourage unity (1, 2, 5 and 6), to those that do not (3, 4, 7 and 8); and from those that allow freedom of choice (1, 3, 5 and 7) to those that impose the decisions (2, 4, 6 and 8). If, as value-free social scientists, we could argue on empirical grounds for any one pattern, it is possible many of us would select the pattern which offers us identity, unity and freedom of choice. It is this pattern (Integration or Democratic Pluralism) for which I personally find evidence and with which I am most familiar. It is this pattern which has recently been promoted in a Canadian Government Policy.

Multiculturalism Policy in Canada

In 1963, the Federal Government of Canada established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to "enquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

The Official Languages Act of 1968 implemented the major recommendation of the Commission, and in essence gave formal recognition to a linguistic and cultural dualism within a single nation. Following the original guidelines, the Commission also took into account the "Third Force," those other ethnic groups which are so visible in Canada, and prepared a volume entitled "The Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups" (Book IV). In October 1971, the Federal Government brought forward its response to Book IV, known as the "Multiculturalism Policy."

This policy, in essence, declares the dominant mode of cultural relations to be officially, what it had been informally for many years, a pluralism; it is a "policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." The policy explicitly dismisses

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"assimilation programmes," and seeks "to ensure that Canada's cultural diversity continues." Its motive is also explicit, the government arguing that "ethnic pluralism can help us overcome or prevent the homogenization and depersonalization of mass society." Identity is thus sought, while the erosion of unity is not considered to be a problem; "Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism -- indeed we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity... Ethnic groups often provide people with a sense of belonging which can make them better able to cope with the rest of society than they would as isolated individuals. Ethnic loyalties need not, and usually do not, detract from wider loyalties to community and country." Finally the freedom of choice is offered to ethnic groups: "Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture, and values within the Canadian context."

These sentiments are being implemented by a four point programme which is very well supported financially. In my own words these programmes are:

1. Assistance (to all Canadian cultural groups who so wish) for the maintenance and development of their own cultures.

2. Efforts to eliminate alienation and feelings of inferiority among these groups, and of prejudice and discrimination towards them among other Canadians.

3. Promotion of integrative social contact among these differentiated groups.

4. Assistance for immigrants to learn either English or French, and other cultural norms necessary for full participation in the larger Canadian society.

This discussion has been detailed, not in order to praise or damn, but to illustrate that a Federal Government, faced with an extremely diverse population (and electorate) can take seriously the possibility of officially encouraging cultural pluralism. At the policy level, it is not a pipe dream -- the policy exists and it is being implemented. However at the population level, its workability and acceptability are still being tested. There is currently a nation-wide acceptance survey in progress among ten selected ethnic groups, particularly with regard to language retention. What is equally important is a parallel study within the "larger society" to assess the acceptability of the policy; so far this has not been done.

Although the multiculturalism policy was not directed specifically toward native peoples in Canada, it may in the long run benefit them the most. A report to the Government of Ontario on Indian Education (Berry et al., 1971) has argued for major institutions (such as education and wo[illegible]ctures) which would allow for the maintenance of the "psychological and [illegible]tural integrity" of native peoples, while at the same time permitting them to "mesh socio-economically with the larger society." This could be accomplished by allowing, where it is desired, an "Indian educational system" which would articulate with the native child at first grade (usually characterized by a primary socialization into native language and culture), and taking him to a set of goals selected by the native ethnic groups themselves. Work roles would be sought which provided access to the wealth of the country, but which would not require much sacrificing of the valued behavioural and cultural characteristics of the group. Similar arguments, both before and after the ones outlined here, have now led to the establishment of an Indian College in the mid-North. Although its curriculum, and overall goals are not yet firm, [illegible]here is no doubt that such institutions could not exist in a society with a strong assimilationist ideology.

Pluralism in Other Nations

No assertion will be made here that pluralism will work in all nations. My plea is for serious consideration to be given to the possibility of building the extant cultural diversity into the new national structures.

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For instance, the socio-cultural and political level of argument, there is no doubt that many varieties of pluralism are indigenous to Africa (Kuper and Smith 1971, p. 136), and as I have outlined, pluralism is taken seriously and has a good chance of working in some large western states. The question thus arises: why do so many nations seek cultural homogenity?

A common answer is that nations must have unity; however at the psychological level of argument, we have noted that the search for unity need not in all cases significantly reduce identity or freedom of choice. It may be that the former is easier to attain if the two latter are sacrificed; but the questions remain; at what psychological cost is national unity achieved and in the long run will the cost be too great?

FOOTNOTES

[1]An earlier version of this paper was prepared for discussion at the First African Regional Conference of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Ibadan, Nigeria, April 2 to 6, 1973. Since the author could not attend the conference, the paper was read by Rex Ugorji. For the present version, suggestions as to use of terms in the United States relevant to the author's arguments were made by the editor of this volume, Richard Brislin.

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BEYOND CULTURAL IDENTITY: REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL AND MULTICULTURAL MAN

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Introduction

The idea of a multicultural man* is an attractive and persuasive notion. It suggests a human being whose identifications and loyalties transcend the boundaries of nationalism and whose commitments are pinned to a vision of the world as a global community. To be a citizen of the world, an international person, has long been a dream of man. History is rich with examples of societies and individuals who took it upon themselves to shape everyone else to the mold of their planetary dream. Less common are examples of men and women who have striven to sustain a self process that is international in attitude and behavior. For good reason. Nation, culture, and society exert tremendous influence on each of our lives, structuring our values, engineering our view of the world, and patterning our responses to experience. No human being can hold himself apart from some form of cultural influence. No one is culture free. Yet, the conditions of contemporary history are such that we may now be on the threshold of a new kind of person, a person who is socially and psychologically a product of the interweaving of cultures in the twentieth century.

We are reminded daily of this phenomenon. In the corner of a traditional, Japanese home sits a television set tuned to a baseball game in which the visitors, an American team, are losing. A Canadian family, meanwhile, decorates their home with sculptures and paintings imported from Pakistan, India, and Ceylon. Teenagers in Singapore and Hong Kong pay unheard of prices for American blue-jeans while high school students in England and France take courses on the making of traditional, Indonesian batik. A team of Malaysian physicians innoculates a remote village against typhus while their Western counterparts study Auryvedic medicine and acupuncture. Around the planet the streams of the world's cultures merge together to form new currents of human interaction. Though superficial and only a manifestation of the shrinking of the globe, each such vignette is a symbol of the mingling and melding of human cultures. Communication and cultural exchange are the pre-eminent conditions of the twentieth century.

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*Despite the fact that men and women share an equal investment in psychological developments of our time, it is virtually impossible to express certain concepts in language that is sexually neutral. The idea of a multicultural "man" and other references to the masculine gender are to be considered inclusive of men and women alike.

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For the first time in the history of the world, a patchwork of technology and organization has made possible simultaneous interpersonal and intercultural communication. Innovations and refinements of innovations, including mass mail systems, publishing syndicates, film industries, television networks, and newswire services have brought people everywhere into potential contact. Barely a city or village exists that is more than a day or two from anyplace else; almost no town or community is without a radio. Buslines, railroads, highways, and airports have created linkages within and between local, regional, national, and international levels of human organization. The impact is enormous. Human connections through communications have made possible the interaction of goods, products, and services as well as the more significant exchange of thoughts and ideas. Accompanying the growth of human communication has been the erosion of barriers that have, throughout history, geographically, linguistically, and culturally separated man from man. As Harold Lasswell (1972) has recently suggested, "the technological revolution as it affects mas media has reached a limit that is subject only to innovations that would substantially modify our basic perspectives of one another and of man's place in the cosmos." It is possible that the emergence of multicultural man is just such an innovation.

A New Kind of Man

A new type of person whose orientation and view of the world profoundly transcends his indigenous culture is developing from the complex of social, political, economic, and educational interactions of our time. The various conceptions of an "international," "transcultural," or "intercultural" person have all been used with varying degrees of explanative or descriptive utility. Essentially, they all define a type of person whose horizons extend significantly beyond his or her own culture. An "internationalist," for example, has been defined as a person who trusts other nations, is willing to cooperate with other countries, perceives international agencies as potential deterrents of war, and who considers international tensions reducible by mediation (Lutzker, 1960). Others have researched the internationality of groups by measuring their attitudes towards international issues, i.e., the role of the U.N., economic versus military aid, international alliances, etc. (Campbell, et. al., 1954). And at least several attempts have been made to measure the world-mindedness of individuals by exploring the degree to which persons have an international frame of reference rather than specific knowledge or interest in global affairs (Sampson and Smith, 1957; Garrison, 1961; Paul, 1966).

Whatever the terminology, the definitions and metaphors allude to a person whose essential identity is inclusive of life patterns different from his own and who has psychologically and socially come to grips with a multiplicity of realities. We can call this new type of person multicultural because he embodies a core process of self verification that is grounded in both the universality of the human condition and in the diversity of man's cultural forms. We are speaking, then, of a social-psychological style of self process that differs from others. Multicultural man is the person who is intellectually and emotionally committed to the fundamental unity of all human beings while at the same time he recognizes, legitimizes, accepts, and appreciates the fundamental differences that lie between people of different cultures. This new kind of man cannot be defined by the languages he speaks, the countries he has visited, or the number of international contacts he has made. Nor is he defined by his profession, his place of residence, or his cognitive sophistication. Instead, multicultural man is recognized by the configuration of his outlooks and world view, by the way he incorporates the universe as a dynamically moving process, by the way he reflects the interconnectedness of life in his thoughts and his actions, and by the way he remains open to the imminence of experience.

Multicultural man is, at once, both old and new. He is very much the timeless "universal" person described again and again by philosophers through the ages. He approaches, in the attributions we make about him, the classical ideal of a person whose lifestyle is one of knowledge and wisdom, integrity and direction, principle and fulfillment, balance and proportion. "To be a universal man," writes John Walsh (1973), "means not how much a man knows but what intellectual depth and breadth he has and how he relates it to

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other central and universally important problems." What is universal about the multicultural person is his abiding commitment to essential similarities between people everywhere, while paradoxically maintaining an equally strong commitment to their differences. The universal person, suggests Walsh, "does not at all eliminate culture differences." Rather, he "seeks to preserve whatever is most valid, significant, and valuable in each culture as a way of enriching and helping to form the whole." In his embodiment of the universal and the particular, multicultural man is a descendent of the great philosophers in both the East and the West.

What is new about this type of person and unique to our time is a fundamental change in the structure and process of his identity. His identity, far from being frozen in a social character, is more fluid and mobile, more susceptible to change and open to variation. The identity of multicultural man is based, not on a "belongingness" which implies either owning or being owned by culture, but on a style of self consciousness that is capable of negotiating ever new formations of reality. In this sense multicultural man is a radical departure from the kinds of identities found in both traditional and mass societies. He is neither totally a part of nor totally apart from his culture; he lives, instead, on the boundary. To live on the edge of one's thinking, one's culture, or one's ego, suggests Paul Tillich (1966), is to live with tension and movement. "It is in truth not standing still, but rather a crossing and return, a repetition of return and crossing, back-and-forth--the aim of which is to create a third area beyond the bounded territories, an area where one can stand for a time without being enclosed in something tightly bounded." Multicultural man, then, is an outgrowth of the complexities of the twentieth century. Yet unique as he may be, the style of identity embodied by multicultural man arises from the myriad of forms that are present in this day and age. An understanding of this new kind of person, then, must be predicated on a clear understanding of cultural identity.

The Concept of Cultural Identity: A Psychocultural Framework

The concept of cultural identity can be used in two different ways. First, it can be employed as a reference to the collective self awareness that a given group embodies and reflects. This is the most prevalent use of the term. "Generally," writes Stephen Bochner (1973), "the cultural identity of a society is defined by its majority group, and this group is usually quite distinguishable from the minority sub-groups with whom they share the physical environment and the territory that they inhabit." With the emphasis upon the group, the concept is akin to the idea of a national or social character which describes a set of traits that members of a given community share with one another above and beyond their individual differences. Such traits most always include a constellation of values and attitudes towards life, death, birth, family, children, god, and nature. Used in its collective sense, the concept of cultural identity includes typologies of cultural behavior, such behaviors being the appropriate and inappropriate ways of solving life's essential dilemmas and problems. Used in its collective sense, the concept of cultural identity incorporates the shared premises, values, definitions, and beliefs and the day-to-day, largely unconscious, patterning of activities.

A second, more specific use of the concept revolves around the identity of the individual in relation to his or her culture. Cultural identity, in the sense that it is a functioning aspect of individual personality, is a fundamental symbol of a person's existence. It is in reference to the individual that the concept is used in this paper. In psychoanalytic literature, most notably in the writings of Erik Erikson (1959), identity is an elemental form of psychic organization which develops in successive psycho-sexual phases throughout life. Erikson, who has focused the greater portion of his analytic studies on identity conflicts, has long recognized the anchoring of the ego in a larger cultural context. Identity, he suggests, takes a variety of forms in the individual. "At one time," he writes, "it will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis; and, finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity." The

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analytic perspective, as voiced by Erikson, is only one of a variety of definitions. Most always, however, the concept of identity is meant to imply a coherent sense of self that depends on a stability of values and a sense of wholeness and integration.

How, then, can we conceptualize the interplay of culture and personality? Culture and personality are inextricably woven together in the gestalt of each person's identity. Culture, the mass of life patterns that human beings in a given society learn from their elders and pass on to the younger generation, is imprinted in the individual as a pattern of perceptions that is accepted and expected by others in a society (Singer, 1971). Cultural identity is the symbol of one's essential experience of oneself as it incorporates the world view, value system, attitudes, and beliefs of a group with whom such elements are shared. In its most manifest form, cultural identity takes the shape of names which both locate and differentiate the person. When an individual calls himself an American, a Christian, a Democrat, a male, and John Jones, he is symbolizing parts of the complex of images he has of himself and that are likewise recognizable by others. The deeper structure of cultural identity is a fabric of such images and perceptions embedded in the psychological posture of the individual. At the center of this matrix of images is a psychocultural fusion of biological, social, and philosophical motivations; this fusion, a synthesis of culture and personality, is the operant person.

The center, or core, of cultural identity is an image of the self and the culture intertwined in the individual's total conception of reality. This image, a patchwork of internalized roles, rules, and norms, functions as the coordinating mechanism in personal and interpersonal situations. The "mazeway," as Anthony Wallace calls it, is made up of human, non-human, material and abstract elements of the culture. It is the "stuff" of both personality and culture. The mazeway, suggests Wallace (1956), is the patterned image of society and culture, personality and nature all of which is ingrained in the person's symbolization of himself. A system of culture, he writes, "depends relatively more on the ability of constituent units autonomously to perceive the system of which they are a part, to receive and transmit information, and to act in accordance with the necessities of the system...." The image, or mazeway, of cultural identity is the gyroscope of the functioning individual. It mediates, arbitrates, and negotiates the life of the individual. It is within the context of this central, navigating image that the fusion of biological, social, and philosophical realities, then, form units of integration that are important to a comparative analysis of cultural identity. The way in which these units are knit together and contoured by the culture at large determine the parameters of the individual. This boundary of cultural identity plays a large part in determining the individual's ability to relate to other cultural systems.

All human beings share a similar biology, universally limited by the rhythms of life. All individuals in all races and cultures must move through life's phases on a similar schedule: birth, infancy, adolescence, middle age, old age, and death. Similarly, humans everywhere embody the same physiological functions of ingestion, irritability, metabolic equilibrium, sexuality, growth, and decay. Yet the ultimate interpretation of human biology is a cultural phenomenon; that is, the meanings of human biological patterns are culturally derived. Though all healthy human beings are born, reproduce, and die, it is culture which dictates the meanings of sexuality, the ceremonials of birth, the transitions of life, and the rituals of death. The capacity for language, for example, is universally accepted as a biological given. Any child, given unimpaired apparatus for hearing, vocalizing, and thinking, can learn to speak and understand any human language. Yet the language that is learned by a child depends solely upon the place and the manner of rearing. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1964), in outlining the grammatical and phonetic systems of the Navajo Indians, have argued that patterns of language affect the expression of ideas and very possibly more fundamental processes of thinking. As Benjamin Whorf has suggested (1957), language may

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not be merely an inventory of linguistic items but rather "itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity."*

The interaction of culture and biology provides one cornerstone for an understanding of cultural identity. How each individual's biological situation is given meaning becomes, then, a psychobiological unit of integration and analysis. Man's essential physiological needs, hunger, sex, activity, and avoidance of pain, are one part of the reality pattern of cultural identity; similarly with those drives that reach out to the social order. At this, the psychosocial level of integration, generic needs are channeled and organized by culture. Man's needs for affection, acceptance, recognition, affiliation, status, belonging, and interaction with other human beings are enlivened and given recognizable form by culture. We can, for example, see clearly the intersection of culture and the psychosocial level of integration in comparative status responses. In America economic status is demonstrated by the conspicuous consumption of products; among the Kwakiutl Indians, status is gained by giving all possessions away in the "potlatch"; and contempt or disrespect for the status of old people in many Asian societies represents a serious breach of conduct demanding face-saving measures.

It is the unwritten task of every culture to organize, integrate, and maintain the psychosocial patterns of the individual, especially in the formative years of childhood. Each culture instruments such patterns in ways that are unique, coherent, and logical to the premises and predispositions that underlie the culture. This imprinting of the forms of interconnection that are needed by the individual for psychosocial survival, acceptance, and enrichment is a significant part of the socialization and enculturation process. Yet of equal importance in the imprinting is the structuring of higher forms of individual consciousness. Culture gives meaning and form to those drives and motivations that extend towards an understanding of the cosmological ordering of the universe. All cultures, in one manner or another, invoke the great philosophical questions of life: the origin and destiny of existence, the nature of knowledge, the meaning of reality, the significance of the human experience. As Murdock (1945) has suggested in "Universals of Culture," some form of cosmology, ethics, mythology, supernatural propitiation, religious rituals, and soul concept appears in every culture known to history or ethnography. How an individual raises and searches for ultimate answers is a function of the psychophilosophical patterning of cultural identity. Ultimately it is the task of every individual to relate to his god, to deal with the supernatural, and to incorporate for himself the mystery of life itself. The ways in which individuals do this, the relationships and connections that are formed, are a function of the psychophilosophical component of cultural identity.

A conceptualization of cultural identity, then, must include three interrelated levels of integration and analysis. While the cultural identity of an individual is comprised of symbols and images that signify aspects of these levels, the psychobiological, psychosocial, and psychophilosophical realities of an individual are knit together by the culture which operates through sanctions and rewards, totems and taboos, prohibitions and myths. The unity and integration of society, nature, and the cosmos is reflected in the total image of the self and in the day-to-day awareness and consciousness of the individual. This synthesis is modulated by the larger dynamics of the culture itself. In the concept of cultural identity, then, we see a synthesis of the operant culture reflected by the deepest images held by the individual. These images, in turn, are based on universally human motivations.

Implicit in any analysis of cultural identity is a configuration of motivational needs. As the late Abraham Maslow (1962) suggested, human drives form a hierarchy in which the most prepotent motivations will monopolize consciousness and will tend, of themselves, to organize the various capacities and capabilities of the organism. In the sequence of

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*A technical reference to the controversial literature examining the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis" can be found in "Psycholinguistics" by G. Miller and D. McNeill in Volume 3 of the Handbook of Social Psychology edited by G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968).

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development, the needs of infancy and childhood revolve primarily around physiological and biological necessities, i.e., nourishment by food, water, and warmth. Correspondingly, the psychosocial needs of the individual are most profound in adolescence and young adulthood when the individual is engaged in establishing himself through marriage, occupation, and social and economic status. Finally, psychophilosophical drives are most manifest in middle and old age when the individual can occupy himself with creativity, philosophic actualization, and with transcendental relationships. As Cofer and Appley (1964) rightly point out, Maslow's hierarchy of needs is not an explicit, empirical, verifiable theory of human motivation. It is useful, however, in postulating a universally recognized but differently named process of individual motivation that carries the individual through the stages of life. Each level of integration and analysis in cultural identity, then, can be viewed as both a part of the gridwork of the self image as well as a developmental roadmap imprinted by the culture.

The gyroscope of cultural identity functions to orchestrate the allegiances, loyalties, and commitments of the individual by giving them direction and meaning. Every human being, however, differentiates himself to some degree from his culture. Just as no one is totally free of cultural influence, no one is totally a reflection of their culture. The cultural identity of an individual, therefore, must be viewed as an integrated synthesis of identifications that are idiosyncratic within the parameters of cultural influenced biological, social, and philosophical motivations. Whether, in fact, such unity ever achieves sufficient integration to provide for consistency between individuals within a given culture is an empirical matter that deals with normalcy and modal personality. The concept of cultural identity, then, can at best be a schema for comparative research between (rather than within) cultures. This schema of cultural identity is illustrated in figure 1.

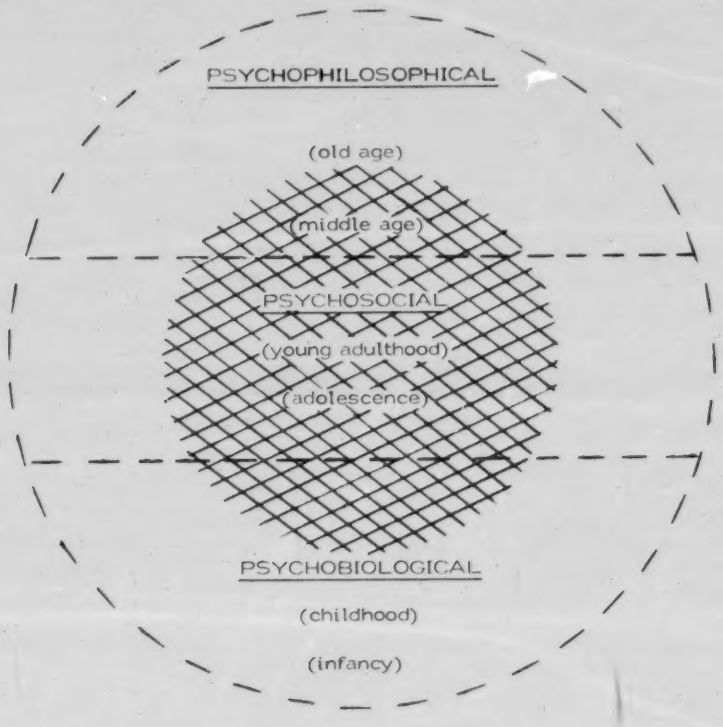

Figure 1

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Though admittedly a fundamental rule of social science must be human variation and the unpredictability of models and theories, a schema of cultural identity and the interplay of psychological and cultural dynamics may lay a groundwork for future research and conceptualization. Particularly useful may be the "eiconic" approach proposed by Kenneth Boulding (1956). His typology of images which include the spatial, temporal, relational, personal, value, affectional, conscious-unconscious, certainty-uncertainty, reality-unreality, and public-private dimensions, may add important perspectives to the comparative study of cultural identity.

The Multicultural Identity

The rise of multicultural man is a significant phenomenon because it represents a new psychocultural style of self process. He arises amidst the metamorphosis of both traditional and mass societies, in a transitional time in which man is redefining himself politically, socially and economically. Multicultural man is a radically different sort of human being. Three characteristics distinguish his style of personality from the traditional structure of cultural identity. First, the multicultural person is psychoculturally adaptive; that is, he is situational in his relationships to others and his connections to culture. He maintains no clear boundaries between himself and the varieties of personal and cultural contexts he may find himself in. The multicultural identity is premised, not on the hierarchical structuring of a single mental image but rather on the intentional and accidental shifts that life's experiences involve. His values and attitudes, world view and beliefs, are always in reformation, dependent more on the necessities of experience than on the predispositions of a given culture. For multicultural man, attitudes, values, beliefs, and a world view are relevant only to a given context (as is usually learned as a result of the culture shock process) and cannot be translated from context to context. Multicultural man does not judge one situation by the terms of another and is therefore ever evolving new systems of evaluations that are relative to the context and situation.

Second, the multicultural person is ever undergoing personal transitions. He is always in a state of "becoming" or "un-becoming" something different than before while yet mindful of the grounding he has in his own cultural reality. Stated differently, multicultural man is propelled from identity to identity through a process of both cultural learning and cultural un-learning. Multicultural man, like Robert J. Lifton's concept of "protean man" (1961), is always recreating his identity. He moves through one experience of self to another, incorporating here, discarding there, responding dynamically and situationally. This style of self process, suggests Lifton, "is characterized by an interminable series of experiments and explorations, some shallow, some profound, each of which can readily be abandoned in favor of still new, psychological quests." The multicultural man is always in flux, the configuration of his loyalties and identifications changing, his overall image of himself perpetually being reformulated through experience and contact with the world. Stated differently, his life is an on-going process of psychic death and rebirth.

Third, multicultural man maintains indefinite boundaries of the self. The parameters of his identity are neither fixed nor predictable, being responsive, instead, to both temporary form and openness to change. Multicultural man is capable of major shifts in his frame of reference and embodies the ability to disavow a permanent character and change in his social-psychological style. The multicultural person, in the words of Peter Berger (1973) is a "homeless mind," a condition which, though allowing great flexibility, also allows for nothing permanent and unchanging to develop. This homelessness is at the heart of his motivational needs. He is, suggests Lifton, "starved for ideas and feelings that give coherence to his world...," that give structure and form to his search for the universal and absolute, that give definition to his perpetual quest. The multicultural man, like great philosophers in any age, can never accept totally the demands of any one culture nor is he free from the conditioning of his culture. His psychocultural style, then, must always be relational and in movement. He is able, however, to look at his own original culture from an outsider's perspective. This tension gives rise to a dynamic, passionate, and critical posture in the face of totalistic ideologies, systems, and movements.

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Like culture-bound man, multicultural man bears within him a simultaneous image of societies, nature, personality, and culture. Yet in contrast to the structure of cultural identity, multicultural man is perpetually re-defining his mazeway. No culture is capable of imprinting or ingraining the identity of multicultural man indelibly; yet, likewise, multicultural man must rely heavily on cultures to maintain his own relativity. Like human beings in any period of time, multicultural man is driven by psychobiological, psychosocial, and psychophilosophical motivations that impel him through life. Yet the configuration of these drives is perpetually in flux and situational. The maturational hierarchy, implicit in the central image of cultural identity, is less structured and cohesive in the multicultural identity. For that reason, his needs and his drives, his motivations and expectations are constantly being aligned and realigned to fit the context he is in.

The flexibility of multicultural man allows great variation in adaptability and adjustment. Adjustment and adaptation, however, must always be dependent on some constant, on something stable and unchanging in the fabric of life. We can attribute to multicultural man three fundamental postulates that are incorporated and reflected in his thinking and behavior. Such postulates are fundamental to success in cross-cultural adaptation.

(1) Every culture or system has its own internal coherence, integrity, and logic. Every culture is an intertwined system of values and attitudes, beliefs and norms that give meaning and significance to both individual and collective identity.

(2) No one culture is inherently better or worse than another. All cultural systems are equally valid as variations on the human experience.

(3) All persons are, to some extent, culturally bound. Every culture provides the individual with some sense of identity, some regulation of behavior, and some sense of personal place in the scheme of things.

The multicultural person embodies these propositions in the living expressions of his life. They are fundamentally a part of his interior image of himself and the world and as much a part of his behavior.

What is uniquely new about this emerging human being is a psychocultural style of self process that transcends the structured image a given culture may impress upon the individual in his or her youth. The navigating image at the core of the multicultural image is premised on an assumption of many cultural realities. The multicultural person, therefore, is not simply the person who is sensitive to many different cultures. Rather, he is a person who is always in the process of becoming a part of and apart from a given cultural context. He is very much a formative being, resilient, changing, and evolutionary. He has no permanent cultural character but neither is he free from the influences of culture. In the shifts and movements of his identity process, multicultural man is continually recreating the symbol of himself. The concept of a multicultural identity is illustrated and differentiated from the schema of cultural identity in figure 2.

The indefinite boundaries and the constantly realigning relationships that are generated by the psychobiological, psychosocial, and psychophilosophical motivations make possible sophisticated and complex responses on the part of the individual to cultural and subcultural systems. Moreover, this psychocultural flexibility necessitates sequential changes in identity. Intentionally or accidentally, multicultural persons undergo shifts in their total psychocultural posture; their religion, personality, behavior, occupation, nationality, outlook, political persuasion, and values may, in part or completely, reformulate in the face of new experiences. "It is becoming increasingly possible," writes Michael Novak (1970), "for men to live through several profound conversions, calling forth in themselves significantly different personalities...." The relationship of multicultural man to cultural

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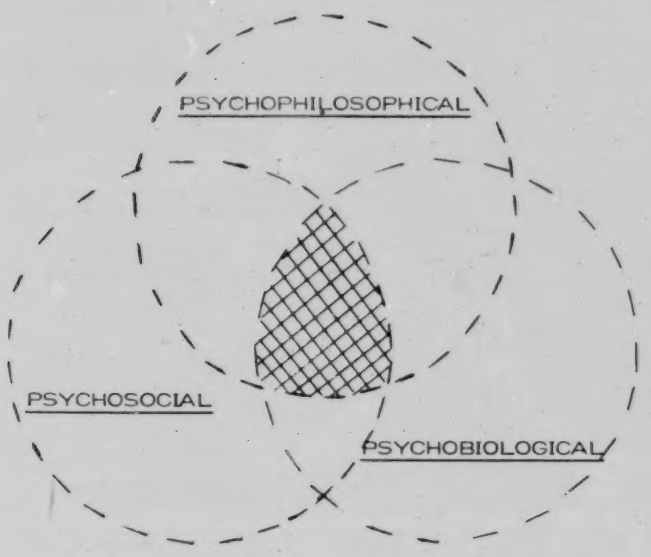

Figure 2

systems is fragile and tenuous. "A man's cultural and social milieu," continues Novak, "conditions his personality, values, and actions; yet the same man is able, within limits, to choose the milieus whose conditioning will affect him."

Who, then, is multicultural man? Four different variations of the multicultural identity process can be seen in the following case studies. While two of these individuals have been interviewed extensively by the author,* the other two are figures of contemporary importance. Each of these persons, in their own unique way, represents the essential characteristics of multicultural man in a vivid and dramatic manner.

(1) C.K. is a talented musician, an excellent student, a deeply spiritual disciple of an Indian mystic, and at once, both a teacher and a friend to a number of other students. Though outgoing, humorous, and articulate he is likewise a private, almost quiet person who appears to exert a high degree of control over his life. Coming from a large family in which his father, an engineer, spent a good deal of time abroad, C.K. had an early opportunity to both live and study in a foreign culture. Following high school C.K. spent his college years in the Middle East where he purposely stayed away from other Americans in order to facilitate both contacts with the local people and language learning. His first years in the Middle East were significant: "It was at this point that I began to see where I grew up and not just know that I had been raised in America." In high school, C.K. had been intensely interested in mathematics and physics; his college career, however, brought about a shift. Increasingly, he found himself interested in music, an interest that would later carry him East both academically and spiritually. It was during his college years that C.K. also became aware of

*The examples of both C.K. and Y.N. are condensed from a number of longer case studies done by the author as part of his research on identity changes that result from cross cultural experiences. The full case studies are included in his Ph.D. thesis entitled The Boundary Experience.

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American policy abroad; though never entirely a political activist, C.K. was outspoken and critical of American foreign policy and critical of the Viet Nam war. After completing his B.A., C.K. enrolled in graduate studies in ethnomusicology, concentrating his work on the Indian flute. With his wife he then spent a year and a half in India studying under an Indian teacher. His Indian experiences were important. Living and studying in a traditional setting, C.K. became progressively more involved with the philosophic traditions of the country and eventually met a well-known Indian mystic. His encounters with the meditations of this teacher influenced him profoundly. After months of study, meditation, and living with this religious leader and his other disciples, C.K. himself became a disciple. The dissolution of his marriage which he calls "an amicable and agreeable parting" came at roughly the same time. After returning to America to continue his graduate studies in music, C.K., still very much a disciple of his teacher, has continued to both practice and teach meditation. C.K. is very warm and articulate in discussion. He describes life as a series of peaks and valleys, what he calls the "mountain climbing" model of existence. "Life is a series of mountains in which you must go down one mountain in order to go up yet another. Each ascent and descent is difficult but one must be able to experience both the top and the bottom if one is to grow." C.K. is an exceptional person. His friends to whom he teaches meditation come from a variety of disciplines and countries, including some from India and Japan. In his day-to-day experiences, C.K. seems to react situationally. In his own words, he makes every attempt to "be in the here and now," to relate to people individually, and to live as simple and uncomplicated an existence as possible. Though he rejects much talk about mysticism, C.K. lives an ascetic and "feeling" style of life in which he aspires to bring himself in contact with the largest rhythms of nature and of the universe.

(2) Y.N. is Japanese, an ex-patriot now residing in Hawaii, and a quiet intelligent individual. Though he initially is shy with strangers, Y.N. likes very much to play host for his friends. In conversation he will demonstrate techniques of ju-jitsu, in which he holds a high ranking belt, and talk about the incidents that have occurred to him in his travels throughout Asia and America. Brought up in a middle-class, relatively traditional home, Y.N. finished high school and taught ikebana, the art of flower arrangement. Qualified as a teacher in this and several other aesthetic and martial arts, Y.N. came to America. In high school and his first years in college, Y.N. had become a member of a splinter faction of the Zengakuren, the militant student movement in Japan, and had participated actively in numerous demonstrations and student revolts. He describes this time in his life as "both a high and low for myself." Though his commitment to the radical movement was deep, he felt strongly the urge to live contemplatively and reflectively as his various masteries had taught him to do. In the tension that surrounded the late 1960's in Japan, and amidst conflicts with his father who was opposed to his radical leanings, he "escaped" to America where he has every intention of remaining until he "finds another place to live." Having disavowed himself from both the aesthetic arts and radical political causes, Y.N. is today employed in a hotel as a means of supporting himself through school. Since coming to the United States, Y.N. has undergone, in his words, a "transformation." He is completely different and realizes that he is no longer able to return to Japan to become reconciled with his family and culture. Nor is he totally at home in the U.S. Instead, he sees the U.S. as a temporary place for himself and considers the world to be his home. At one point, several years after being in the U.S., Y.N. returned to Japan, but his anxieties rapidly cascaded into a nervous breakdown. Returning to the U.S., he underwent intensive psychotherapy and again resumed his studies, and with an undergraduate degree in history, may move to Australia. Though unsure of his future, he hopes to utilize his studies of history in teaching and writing and seems confident that his inner struggles have prepared him for further changes which he sees as inevitable.

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(3) Carlos Castaneda (1969, 1971, 1972), familiar through his writings about don Juan, the Yaqui Indian sorcerer, is an anthropologist by training, a Brazilian by birth, and an elusive, intensely private individual. He is known solely through his books and the articles about him that have appeared in popular literature. Castaneda spent most of his life in Argentina and came to the United States to do graduate work in anthropology. Interested in the cultural uses of psychotropic drugs, he began field work with don Juan Mateus, a Yaqui Indian reputed to be a medicine man of great power. After a year of studying with don Juan, Castaneda entered an apprenticeship under the sorcerer and spent the next twelve years working, living, and studying under the old man. His first books documented his experiments with mescalin, peyote, and jimson weed and his progressively deeper involvement with the cultural context in which such drugs are used. In attempting to understand their use, Castaneda had to struggle with a "non-ordinary reality." His writings, taken in series, document his struggles to understand another way of life, his resistances, his failures, and his occasional successes. A trained Western scientist, Castaneda's apprenticeship led him deeper and deeper into the world of the "brujo," a reality which is as much comprised of phantoms and spirits as it is rattlesnakes and cactus. Progressively more jolted by the extraordinary things he encountered in the world of don Juan, Castaneda documented his experiences, which read like the dream-logs of Jungian psychologists. Throughout his twelve years of apprenticeship, don Juan has progressively brought Castaneda deeper into the "becoming of a man of power and knowledge." At least one of the on-going lessons of don Juan has been responsibility, to personally be accountable for every movement and thought, every behavior and action. To pick the leaves of a plant, to disturb pebbles in the desert, or to shiver in the cold are all ultimate acts of the man who has control of himself. Nothing is chance; yet nothing can be explained logically or rationally. Castaneda, who is somewhat publicity shy, is known only through his writings, and these are quite controversial. Studying, writing, and existing on the far fringe of academic respectability, Castaneda seems comfortable in his relationships to several different cultures.

(4) Norman O. Brown, born in Mexico of American parents, educated in both England and America, at one time a researcher for the Office of Strategic Services (forerunner of the CIA) is presently a professor of comparative literature and a prominent left-wing thinker. Brown is a fiercely intentional, highly provocative writer whose major contributions have been in fields where he had limited academic training. At one time an obscure teacher of literature, Brown became immersed in a penetrating study of Freud in the late 1950's. Out of his encounters with the psychoanalytic school of psychology, Brown wrote his first book, Life Against Death (1959), which sought nothing less than a total overhaul of psychological, social, economic, and political thinking. Using his thoughts on the Freudian concept of repression as a departure point, Brown has attempted to formulate a social theory that is determined to remove all barriers to human liberation. Having jumped freely into the domain of psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists, Brown has come to see hope in madness and in the Dionesian model. His apocalyptic vision encompasses, in his own words, "a shaking of the foundations" which bind man to repetitious, self destructive behavior. Brown is a visionary in the school of Nietzsche and, like Nietzsche, finds liberation in the ultimate destruction of all boundaries. Brown and his writings cannot be contained or encapsulated in a discipline. He overlaps, expands, and bursts areas of study and purposely seeks to shock his intellectual peers with thinking that is often bizarre, usually outrageous, and always rigorous. He draws from the sources of metaphor: myths, dreams, religion, symbols, and the undercurrents of the unconscious; in drawing together sources from philosophy, theology, psychology, and history he weaves together a theoretical perspective that is both analytic and polemic. Brown is a spokesman for liberation, his enemy the "politics of sin, cynicism, and despair," his goal

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> the ultimate unification of man and nature. Far from being a gadfly, Brown is accepted as a deep and penetrating thinker whose writings have thrust him in the role of both counter-culture hero and enemy of the academic establishment. More than anything else, however, Brown has jumped across disciplines, theories, and traditions in an effort to free the human mind from its binders. His ultimate vision comes to rest in poetry and in the sublime, if unchallengable, processes of dialectical confrontation with the barriers of his time.

Each of these individuals, C.K., Y.N., Castaneda, and Brown, share significant elements of the multicultural identity. Each, in their own way, can be understood only contextually, that is, only in relation to the particular time, place, and system we choose to focus on. Each of these individuals has undergone shifts in identity, in some cases quite radical breaks with their previous "selves." C.K. and Castaneda, for example, have followed a course that involves a search for heightened personal consciousness. Y.N. and Brown, on the other hand, have pursued a series of identity changes that have carried them into and through a radical political posture. But in all four of these individuals it is possible to see that there have been fracture points in which the constellation of values, attitudes, world view, and outlook that we call identity have changed. Each of these individuals, different as they are, have embraced, only to let go, one frame of reference in favor of yet another.

Neither C.K., Y.N., Castaneda or Brown are "usual" persons. All of them have perched themselves precariously close to the boundaries of the system. In the case of Y.N., this has involved self exile from his native country; for Brown, this has meant a departure from the perimeters of his training and expertise; for C.K., the experience of self has meant embracing a religious order that is antipodal to the Western tradition; and for Castaneda, it has involved an agonizing indoctrination into an order of experience that carries him far from the careful, methodical schooling of anthropology. Each of these persons is in some sense or another an outsider, intentionally or accidentally dislocated from one frame of reference to another, from one environment of experience to a different one. Though they differ drastically in their personalities, orientations, political values, and personal objectives, they share a similar process of identity change. And though they share a similar process of identity style, they differ greatly in their handling of the stresses and strains, the tensions and problems that ensue from such a fluidity of self. Y.N. has obviously been severely disturbed by the demands placed on him through conflicts in loyalty. Brown has glorified the infantile ego and taken refuge in an intellectual process that necessitates the smashing of all boundaries without regard for the functions such boundaries may perform. Castaneda has removed himself totally from the public view while C.K. has submitted himself to what one might call a dogmatic totalism.

Stresses and Tensions

The unprecedented dynamism of multicultural man makes it possible to live many different lives, in sequence or simultaneously. But such psychocultural pliability gives rise to tensions and stresses unique to the conditions which allow such dynamism in the first place. Multicultural man, by virtue of the fact that his boundaries are indefinite, his experience more intense, and his lifetime telescoped into modules of congruency, is subject to stresses and strains that are equally unique. At least five of these stresses bear mentioning.

First, multicultural man is vulnerable. In maintaining no clear boundary and form multicultural man is susceptible to confusing the profound and the insignificant, the important and the unimportant, the visionary and the reactionary. "Boundaries can be viewed," suggests Lifton (1967), "as neither permanent nor by definition false, but rather as essential.... We require images of limit and restraint, if only to help us grasp what we are transcending. We need distinctions between our biology and our history, all the more

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so as we seek to bring these together in a sense of ourselves...." Without some form of boundary, experience itself has no shape or contour, no meaning and importance; where the individual maintains no critical edge to his existence everything can become confusion. Experience, in order to be a particular experience, must take place amidst some essential polarity in which there is tension between two opposing forces. Where there is no sense of evil, there can be no sense of the good; where nothing is profane, nothing can be sacred. Boundaries, however indefinite, give shape and meaning to the experience of experience; they allow us to differentiate, define, and determine who we are in relation to someone or something else.

Second, multicultural man can easily become multiphrenic, that is, to use Erikson's terminology, a "diffused identity." Where the configuration of loyalties and identifications is constantly in flux and where boundaries are never secure, multicultural man lays himself open to any and all kind of stimuli. In the face of messages which are confusing, contradictory, or overwhelming, the individual is thrown back on himself and his own subjectivity, with which he must integrate and sort out what he allows himself to take in. Where the multicultural man is incapable of doing this he is pulled and pushed by the winds of communication, a victim of what everyone else claims he is or should be. It is the task of every social and cultural group to organize messages, images, and symbols into terms that the individual can translate into his own existence. But where the messages and stimuli of all groups are given equal importance and validity, the individual can easily be overwhelmed by the demands of everyone else.

Third, multicultural man can easily suffer from a loss of the sense of his own authenticity. That is, multicultural man, by virtue of the fact that he is psychoculturally adaptive, can potentially be reduced to a variety of roles that bear little or no relationship to one another. Multicultural man can lose the sense of congruence and integrity that is implicit in the definition of identity itself. Roles, suggest psychologists, are constellations of behaviors that are expected of an individual because of his place in particular social or cultural arrangements. Behind roles are the deeper threads of continuity, the processes of affect, perception, cognition, and value, that make a whole of the parts. Multicultural man can easily disintegrate into a fragmented splinter who is unable to experience life along any dimension other than institutionalized, routinized expectations placed on him by family, friends, and society.

Fourth, and related to this, is the risk of being a gadfly and a dilettante. Multicultural man can very easily move from identity experience to identity experience without committing himself or his values to real-life situations. The energy and enthusiasm he brings to bear on new situations can easily disintegrate into superficial fads and fancies in which the multicultural person simply avoids any deeper responsibilities and involvements. Flexibility can easily disguise a manner of self process in which real human problems are avoided or in which they are given only superficial importance. Especially in the Western societies, where youth is vulnerable to the fabricated fads of contemporary culture, the multicultural identity process can give way to a dilettantism in which the individual flows, unimpaired, uncommitted, and unaffected, through social, political, and economic manipulations of elites.

Fifth, and finally, the multicultural person may take ultimate psychological and philosophical refuge in an attitude of existential absurdity, mocking the patterns and lifestyles of others who are different from himself, reacting, at best in a detached and aloof way, and at worst as a nihilist who sees negation as a salvation for himself and others. Where the breakdown of boundaries creates a gulf that separates the individual from meaningful relationships with others, the individual may hide behind a screen of barbed cynicisms that harbors apathy and insecurity. In such a condition nothing within and nothing outside of the individual is of serious consequence; the individual, in such a position, must ultimately scorn that which he cannot understand and incorporate into his own existence.

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These stresses and strains should not be confused with the tensions and anxieties that are encountered in the process of cross cultural adjustment. Culture shock is a more superficial constellation of problems that results from the misreading of commonly perceived and understood signs of social interaction. Nor is the delineation of these tensions meant to suggest that the multicultural person must necessarily harbor these various difficulties. The multicultural style of identity is premised on a fluid, dynamic movement of the self, an ability to move in and out of contexts, and an ability to maintain some inner coherence through varieties of situations. As a psychocultural style, multicultural man may just as easily be a great artist or neurotic; he is equally as susceptible, if not more so, to the fundamental forces of our time. Any list of multicultural individuals must automatically include individuals who have achieved a high degree of accomplishment, i.e., writers, musicians, diplomats, etc., as well as those whose lives have, for one reason or another, been fractured by the circumstances they failed to negotiate. The artist and the neurotic lay close together in each of us suggests Rollo May (1969). "The neurotic," he writes, "and the artist--since both live out the unconscious of the race--reveal to us what is going to emerge endemically in the society later on...the neurotic is the 'artiste manque,' the artist who cannot transmute his conflicts into art."

The identity process of multicultural man represents a new kind of person unfettered by the constricting limitations of culture as a "totalistic" entity. Yet, like men in any age, multicultural man must negotiate the difficulties of cross cultural contacts. The literature of cross cultural psychology is rich with examples of the kinds of problems encountered when people are intensely exposed to other cultures. Integration and assimilation, for example, represent two different responses to a dominant culture, integration suggesting the retention of subcultural differences and assimilation implying absorption into a larger cultural system. The relationship between assimilation, integration, and identification, writes Sommerlad and Berry (1973), "suggests that if an individual identifies with his own group, he will hold favourable attitudes towards integration; on the other hand, if he identifies with the host society, he should favour assimilation." Related to this are the various negative attitudes, psychosomatic stresses, and deviant behaviors that are expressed by individuals in psychologically marginal situations. "Contrary to predictions stemming from the theory of Marginal Man," writes J. W. Berry (1970), "it tends to be those persons more traditionally oriented who suffer the most psychological marginality, rather than those who wish to move on and cannot." Multicultural man is, in many ways, a stranger. The degree to which he can continually modify his frame of reference and become aware of the structures and functions of a group while at the same time maintain a clear understanding of his own personal, ethnic, and cultural identifications may very well be the degree to which the multicultural person can truly function successfully between cultures. Berry's ideas are developed further in his paper for this volume.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the conditions under which cultural identities will evolve into multicultural identities, such changes in psychocultural style are most likely to occur where the foundations of collective cultural identity have been shaken. "Communities that have been exposed too long to exceptional stresses from ecological or economic hardships," writes J. E. Cawte (1973), "or from natural or man-made disasters are apt to have a high proportion of their members subject to mental disorders." Cawte's studies of the Aboriginal societies of Australia and Turnbull's studies of the Ik in Africa (1972) document how major threats to collective cultural identity produce social and psychological breakdown among individuals. Yet, potentially, multicultural attitudes and values may develop where cultural interchange takes place between cultures that are not totally disparate or where the rate of change is evolutionary rather than immediate. The reorganization of a culture, suggests J. L. M. Dawson (1969), "results in the formation of in-between attitudes" which Dawson considers "to be more appropriate for the satisfactory adjustment of individuals in transitional situations." The multicultural style, then, may be born and initially expressed in any society or culture that is faced with new exposures to other ways of life.

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Conceptualization of a multicultural identity style in terms of personality types, behavior patterns, traits, and cultural background is, at best impressionistic and anecdotal. Yet, the investigations of cross cultural psychologists and anthropologists give increasing credence to the idea of a multicultural man who is shaped and contoured by the stresses and strains which result from cultural interweaving at both the macro and microcultural levels. Seemingly, a multicultural style is able to evolve when the individual is capable of negotiating the conflicts and tensions inherent in cross cultural contacts. The multicultural person, then, may very well represent an affirmation of individual identity at a higher level of social, psychological, and cultural integration.

Just as the cultures of the world, if they are to merit survival amidst the onslaught of Western technologies, must be responsive to both tradition and change, so too must the individual identity be psychoculturally adaptive to the encounters of an imploding world. There is every reason to think that such human beings are emerging. Multicultural man, embodying, as he does, sequential identities, is open to the continuous cycle of birth and death as it takes place within the framework of his own psyche. The lifestyle of multicultural man is a continual process of dissolution and reformation of identity; yet implicit in such a process is a sequence of growth. Psychological movements into new dimensions of perception and experience tend very often to produce forms of personality disintegration. But disintegration, suggests Kazimierez Dabrowski (1964), "is the basis for developmental thrusts upward, the creation of new evolutionary dynamics, and the movement of personality to a higher level...." The seeds of each new identity of multicultural man lie within the disintegration of previous identities. "When the human being, writes Erikson (1964), "because of accidental or developmental shifts, loses an essential wholeness, he restructures himself and the world by taking recourse to what we may call 'totalism.'" Such totalism, above and beyond being a mechanism of coping and adjustment, is a part of the growth of a new kind of wholeness at a higher level of integration.

Conclusions and Summary

This paper does not suggest that multicultural man is now the predominate character style of our time. Nor is it meant to suggest that multicultural persons, by virtue of their uninhibited way of relating to other cultures, are in any way "better" than those who are mono- or bi-cultural. Rather, this paper argues that multicultural persons are not simply individuals who are sensitive to other cultures or knowledgeable about international affairs, but instead can be defined by a psychocultural pattern of identity that differs radically from the relatively stable forms of self process found in the cultural identity pattern. This paper argues that both cultural and multicultural identity processes can he conceptualized by the constellation and configuration of biological, social, and philosophical motivations and by the relative degrees of rigidity maintained in personal boundaries and that such conceptualization lays the basis for comparative research.

Two final points might be noted about the multicultural man. First, the multicultural person embodies attributes and characteristics that prepare him to serve as a facilitator and catalyst for contacts between cultures. The variations and flexibility of his identity allows the multicultural person to relate to a variety of contexts and environments without being totally encapsulated or totally alienated from the particular situation. As Stephen Bochner (1973) suggests, a major problem of cultural preservation in Asia and the Pacific "is the lack of sufficient people who can act as links between diverse cultural systems." These "mediating" individuals incorporate the essential characteristics of multicultural man. "Genuine multicultural individuals are very rare," he writes, "which is unfortunate because it is these people who are uniquely equipped to mediate the cultures of the world." The multicultural person, then, embodies a pattern of self process that potentially allows him to help others negotiate the cultural realities of a different system. With a self process that is adaptational, multicultural man is in a unique position to understand, facilitate, and research the psychocultural dynamics of other systems.

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Second, multicultural man is himself a significant psychological and cultural phenomenon, enough so as to merit further conceptualization and research. It is neither easy nor necessarily useful to reconcile the approaches of psychology and anthropology; nor is there any guarantee that interdisciplinary approaches bring us closer to an intelligent understanding of the human being as he exists in relation to his culture. Yet, the multicultural man may prove to be a significant enough problem in culture learning (and culture unlearning) to force an integrated approach to studies of the individual and the group. "Psychologists," writes Richard Brislin, et. al. (1973), "have the goal of incorporating the behavior of many cultures into one theory (etic approach), but they must also understand the behavior within each culture (emic approach)." Empirical research based on strategies that can accurately observe, measure, and test behavior, and that incorporate the "emic versus etic" distinction will be a natural next step. Such studies may very well be a springboard into the more fundamental dynamics of cross cultural relationships.

We live in a transitional period of history, a time that of necessity demands transitional forms of psychocultural self process. That a true international community of nations is coming into existence is still a debatable issue; but that individuals with a self consciousness that is larger than the mental territory of their culture are emerging is no longer arguable. The psychocultural pattern of identity that is called for to allow such self-consciousness, adaptability, and variation opens such individuals to both benefits and pathologies. The interlinking of cultures and persons in the twentieth century is not always a pleasant process; modernization and economic development have taken heavy psychological tolls in both developed and third world countries. The changes brought on in our time have invoked revitalistic needs for the preservation of collective, cultural identities. Yet, along with the disorientation and alienation which have characterized much of this century comes new possibility in the way human beings conceive of their individual identities and the identity of man as a species. No one has better stated this possibility than Harold Taylor (1969), himself an excellent example of multicultural man:

> There is a new kind of man in the world, and there are more of that kind than is commonly recognized. He is a national citizen with international intuitions, conscious of the age that is past and aware of the one now in being, aware of the radical difference between the two, willing to accept the lack of precedents, willing to work on the problems of the future as a labor of love, unrewarded by governments, academies, prizes, and position. He forms part of an invisible world community of poets, writers dancers, scientists, teachers, lawyers, scholars, philosophers, students, citizens who see the world whole and feel at one with all its parts.

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A SWEDISH APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

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One of the inevitable problem areas in the field of international communication is that involving the developing countries. We have, of course, two levels of communication in this area--the problems of communication within the developing countries themselves, such as information diffusion, establishing and transmitting national goals and priorities, control and mobilization for nation building, and then the problems of communication between the countries which are able and willing to assist and the countries which are recipients. I wish to focus on this latter level. For too long the industrialized nations aided the so-called underdeveloped countries in an exploiting or at best a patronizing manner. From a communicative point of view it was monological--one directional with little regard for the perceived needs and priorities of the recipients. Americans went abroad with their material, their technical assistance, and their experts to train the nationals according to the research development problems as Americans saw them and as they thought they should be seen. Such an inadequate conceptualization of the communicative dimensions of the relationships has resulted in much harm and damage both from the standpoint of international relations but more importantly from the standpoint of the best interests of the developing countries. A Swedish program that has been functioning in Uppsala for twelve years deserves particular attention because of its approach to the communicative dimensions of this international problem in communication and development.

The International Seminar in Physics at the University of Uppsala, begun in 1961 under the leadership of Dr. Tor Ragnar Gerholm and Professor Kai Siegbahn, and presently under the direction of Professor Olov Bergman, approached this problem by training scientists from developing countries, but giving particular attention to the conceptual and methodological aspects of communication. The purpose of this paper is to describe this international seminar by highlighting its (1) motivation, its (2) objectives, the (3) communicative environment in which these objectives are fulfilled and (4) a consideration of difficulties encountered.[1] The functioning of the seminar, as I shall point out, serves as a constructive model for what I view as a properly conceived effort at international communication.

Before coming to these aspects, perhaps a brief description would be helpful. The International Seminar in Physics is financed by the Swedish International Development Authority, the International Atomic Energy Agency, UNESCO, and the University of Uppsala. It consists of a ten-month training program in experimental research fields such as low energy physics, atomic and molecular physics, solid state physics, x-ray crystallography, radiation and plasma physics, geophysics, etc. The Seminar awards scholarships to applicants from selected developing countries who are attached to a local university or

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research institute. Normally the Fellow will already have the M.Sc. or Ph.D. degree and a year of local research experience. The Seminar does not have associated with it any examination or degree. In fact it is not permitted for the research completed in the Seminar to be counted toward a higher degree. Countries which are industrialized or which have institutes of high reputation are not on the eligible list. During the current year there are participants from Indonesia, India, Poland, Cuba, Romania, Egypt, Colombia, Zambia, Nigeria, Chile, Uruguay, Nepal, Kenya, Iraq, Ceylon, and Thailand. The total number of fellows is limited to about 25 because much stress is placed upon the personal development of these scholars and upon the interpersonal relationships of the participants and their appointed research leaders.

Motivation

The motivation behind the Seminar is three-fold. First there is the brain drain problem in many of the developing countries. The local country loses some of its best students and potential researchers because of their being attracted to scholarships at prestigeous universities in highly industrialized countries or to teaching and research positions elsewhere. When the training they obtain turns out to be irrelevant to the needs of their own country, they never return. At Uppsala the research training is required to be relevant to the local needs and the scholars must return to their home institutions.

A second motivation behind the Seminar is the problem of isolation for the researchers at their local institutions. The universities concerned generally have only small departments where the staff is few in number and the exchange of ideas is limited and the opportunity for cross-fertilization is small. Geographically, the department or research institute is isolated also, making it difficult for scholars to have professional external contacts. Not only does spending 10 months at the Uppsala institute help a scholar and his department in this respect, but one of the important aspects of the Seminar is that the professional ties are maintained after the Seminar experience.

A third motivation is the problem of staffing the local departments. Financial problems at these small institutions make it virtually impossible for long-range planning and research needs to be established. Rapid turnover of staff contributes to the problem.

> There are many expensive sets of equipment standing unpacked or elsewhere unused in universities of developing countries simply because the man for whom things were ordered left for a job or perhaps a scholarship and then never returned. This turnover in staff, repeatedly getting in new people with new fields of research each making fresh plans for starting new groups is also quite detrimental to local higher degree programmes.[2]

By requiring that scholarship recipients be firmly attached to their local institutions, that the training at Uppsala is not for degree purposes, that the research projects are in fulfillment of departmental goals and plans at the local institution, the Seminar is able to mitigate some of the common problems encountered otherwise. The Seminar staff obtains as much information as possible about the local situation and the application form includes questions as to why the applicant is doing the research, what instrumentation is available, who the people are with whom he is working, and what type of training is wanted. Thus the training in Sweden is selected carefully and integrated as much as possible into the research plans and departmental goals locally. Scholarships are not awarded freely according to the desires of the individual, but are based on need as it exists in the local university. The training is not to change scholars into preconceived molds but to awaken them to see what their own research needs and priorities are in their own countries. In this way the universities of the local countries are able to contribute in a relevant way to their development program.

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Objectives

The above philosophical and practical motivation provides the fromework in which the specific objectives of the Seminar are set. To quote Dr. Bergman, "The purpose of the International Seminar in Physics is to assist Universities in developing countries in their endeavours to provide a good and fruitful training of scientists at all levels (secondary, undergraduate and postgraduate), to promote basic and applied research within the field of physics, and to demonstrate the fruitfulness of international and regional cooperation."[3] These aims are met by providing assistance in three forms: the fellowships to scholars who enter as members of the Swedish research teams at Uppsala, complementary equipment to the supported research team, and expert advice by able research leaders who make what are termed "expert missions" to the local country from where the Fellows have come. It is significant that the assistance is designed for institutions, not individuals, in the developing countries. In this way it differs from the usual pattern of supporting individual scholars who receive scholarships and pursue individual research interests on their own. Because of the nature of the Seminar which emphasizes knowing the local conditions of the Fellows, the expert upon visiting the institute is already acquainted with the department needs, the staff, the equipment, and the research problems. This facilitates considerably his visit as an expert. The mutual cooperation, with emphasis on adapting to the recipient's conditions, is the important feature of the Seminar's goals.

Communicative Environment[4]

We have now looked at the motivation behind the Uppsala Seminar and at its specific objectives. We should also note what I call the communication environment which the Seminar provides for the scholars. This communicative environment first of all, consists of the attitudes of the Uppsala staff[5] toward the seminar program, toward the Fellows who train there, and toward the research. The attitudes are open and cooperative, not authoritarian and dogmatic. The staff is concerned about the process of training as much as it is about the research skills resulting from the training. Pervasive throughout the Seminar is the overriding impulse of respect for local needs and priorities in research. The approach is development oriented, in the truest sense of the word. The staff is there to help the scientists create their own picture of what they may become as researchers in their own countries. This is essentially a creative communicative attitude rather than a traditionally closed attitude of information transmission.

Another important aspect of the environment is the arrangement of the physical facilities.[6] Each Fellow is appointed to a small research group with a senior research leader who guides the group in its problem-solving and research training. The emphasis is on the group, not on the individual researcher doing his own thing. The research training takes place in its own facility where in addition to the laboratories the Seminar participants have a common library, reading room, a common kitchen and adjoining dining room where they eat together and have opportunity for sharing and interacting. The sharing of problems and the building of a common life are thus an important part of the program. The entire group studies the Swedish language and culture together,[7] they take a trip through Europe together to obtain a picture of important research centers there, they have a series of study visits and laboratory information about teaching and administering physics programs in Sweden.[8] A series of what are called "fellow-evenings" is offered in which the Fellows have opportunity to share information about their home country, its economic and social structure and its education problems and priorities. These parties also feature the food of the country being discussed and generally "leau to natural and open discussions in the wide international field that the Seminar represents."

A third element in the environment is the close personal and professional relationships that are established between Fellows and leaders which continue even after the training period is over. As long as five years after a Fellow leaves the Seminar, correspondence continues between him and his leader. This includes the sharing of professional help which may be as frequent as once a month. The "expert missions" described earlier play an important part in the follow-up relationships, as well. It would be even more desirable if

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the program could financially support the bringing back to Sweden of experts and scientists from the supported country. The need for experts to go to the developing country is assumed, but the need for the latter to come to the industrial nation on an expert basis is seldom acknowledged. The networks of communication enlarge each year as the Seminar brings in new Fellows and lets them return home to continue their research.[9] Dr. Bergman concludes:

> Long standing links between physics groups in Uppsala and University departments in developing countries may thus be built up by the Seminar. The dominating factor in this process is of course the people involved. The Sweden research group must be of sufficient quality and strength to be able to provide useful training and sufficiently extrospective to show interest in other people's problems--and all groups are not ideal in that respect. The department in the receiving country must be united enough to put forward definite and realistic plans and should choose its candidates for the Seminar with great care so the candidate fits into the research and training activities of the department. It is our general impression that the bottle neck in all this is the individuals' ignorance of each others problems and possibilities.[10]

The Seminar attempts to open up the bottle neck by removing the ignorance.

A final element in the communicative environment provided by the Seminar is its effort at obtaining systematic feedback. There is an annual conference of the research team leaders in which the problems and outcomes of the Seminar are discussed and evaluated. There is also an evaluation made by the financing authorities who come to the campus to talk to the Fellows and request reactions and suggestions. Also the Director speaks with each Fellow individually to get feedback. And there is a conference on research within developing countries in the Spring when the group goes out of town together to a convenient location to allow the Fellows to give talks about the problems in their research, in their education, and in their countries. In this way the Seminar staff can get a feel for the work that can be done in the supported countries. In addition to the regular and annual evaluation that goes on, in 1969 a follow-up study was conducted to determine whether indeed these Fellows through the years were remaining in their research fields and institutions. The study concluded that only 6 out of 158 Fellows had "jumped off," so to speak. However, of these 6, three were political refugees and one had a mental breakdown.[11]

Difficulties Encountered

Though generally the Seminar has been successful, there are several difficulties connected with the program which are often part of international exchanges. I shall indicate some of the efforts which have been made at Uppsala to alleviate these difficulties and also some recommendations which I think are worthy of consideration by such international programs.

One of the problems is that the study period is only ten months in duration. This time period can be rather restrictive both in terms of finishing a given research project under investigation and in terms of having sufficient time to absorb the host culture. Many of the Seminar participants have never been abroad before which means that adjustment problems will be greater. Often international exchange persons have too limited a time to accomodate themselves and to assimilate their new and different environment. The Uppsala Seminar has made some adjustment to individual projects in allowing an extra month or two to finish the investigation. And field trips are scheduled to permit participants to get out into the country and meet various aspects of educational and cultural life in Sweden. I think, on the whole, however, that if an international exchange is to be anything other than superficial, more than ten months would be needed and more extensive opportunity to meet and visit with the average person of the host country.

Another problem is that the success of the program obviously depends on the quality and strength of the Swedish research group providing the training. This refers primarily

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to the interpersonal strength of showing genuine interest in other people's problems and meeting them where they are. The organizers of the Uppsala Seminar recognize that they are working toward an ideal and that it doesn't matter how lofty the goals if the persons involved in the training aren't skilled in interpersonal and intercultural communication. I would suggest that such skills should be a minimum requirement in selecting trainers and facilitators in international exchange programs.

A third difficulty relates to the size of the group which comes for training and the way they are organized. The small size of 20-25 participants, though it has advantages in creating good interpersonal dimensions, has the disadvantage of not permitting greater involvement by more internationals. The Seminar also acknowledges this problem and admits that often participants tend to come not only from the same countries year after year, but also from the same institutions. This can create a parochial problem all of its own. Furthermore, the feedback channels appear to be highly controlled. As indicated in the previous section, there are opportunities to obtain evaluation feedback, but there should be more emphasis on having the participants organize their own feedback mechanism and initiate their own input to the organizing committee. The small size of the group, the common working facilities, the structured mechanism for feedback all contribute to the possibility of less than complete candor in talking about ways of improving the program.

A final difficulty that can be cited is the inability to speak the host language. This is an inevitable hurdle to overcome in any international exchange program and the Uppsala Seminar has attempted to alleviate this somewhat by providing an eight-hour course about the Swedish language. This by no means is comparable to being able to speak the language and thereby facilitate all intercultural exchange while the visitor lives and works in his new environment. If a scholar or an institution makes a substantial investment in an exchange program, it seems to me that a minimum condition ought to be that a participant will take a "crash" course in the host language before arriving for his study. Such an effort would not only be a significant step in facilitating the learning of the new culture, but also in serving as a gesture of goodwill and openness.

Conclusion

The Uppsala International Seminar in Physics is helping the universities in the developing countries play a central role in their development program. By training scientists to cultivate their own research needs and priorities and by maintaining scientific, educational and personal ties between the institutes and its own program, the Seminar may be said to be engaged in dialogical communication instead of what is too frequently the traditional monological approach between the modernized country and the developing country.[12] In its motivation, in its objectives, and in its program as evidenced by the environment in which it functions, the Uppsala Seminar provides a model of international cooperation and communication.[13] This is an example of what Daniel Lerner would call "participant" development. He emphasizes the necessity of the transformation of individual behavior if social institutions are to be transformed in the developing countries. He well could have been speaking of the International Seminar in Physics at Uppsala when he said,

> We now recognize that the literal "transfer" of institutions from one society to another is impossible in most cases and undesirable in virtually all cases. What is required is a "transformation" of institutions in transit between countries. The essential difference is that, in such transformation, the less developed nation is not merely a passive "receiving area" but is the active agent of a constructive and even creative process....
>
> The process of international development cooperation, thus conceived, is essentially a communication process....
>
> This is international communication on the highest level....[14]

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FOOTNOTES

[1]The information in this paper was obtained from a personal interview and visit with Professor Bergman, Director of the Seminar in Uppsala, October 19, 1972, while I was on appointment as Visiting Professor for the first semester, 1972-73, in the Department of Communication Sciences, University of Louvain (KUL), Belgium. The visit to Uppsala and Stockholm was sponsored by Dr. Raga Elim, Director-General of the Universities and the Quest for Peace, Kent State University, Ohio. Professor Bergman supplied copies of an illustrated flyer entitled "International Seminar in Physics and Chemistry, University of Uppsala, Sweden," and a mimeographed 12 page description entitled "The International Seminar in Physics, Uppsala, Sweden," dated May, 1970 by Dr. O. Bergman from which the selected quotations in this paper are taken.

[2]Dr. Olov Bergman, "The International Seminar in Physics, Uppsala, Sweden," mimeographed paper, 1970, pp. 2-3.

[3]Bergman, p. 3.

[4]The term "Communication Environment" is my term for what I perceive to be an essential component of the Seminar. It is an abstraction of various elements as described in Dr. Bergman's pamphlet under sections called "Aims and Means," and "Programmes," and in his oral conversation. I took written notes during his conversation with Dr. Raga Elim and myself.

[5]The administrative staff of the Seminar this year (1972-73) consists of five members. In addition to the Director is an assistant director, a scientific assistant, and two secretaries, one of whom serves as "fellowship-manager." "The maintenance of close personal relations with all participants is regarded to be most important." Bergman, p. 10.

[6]One of the reasons the group of participants is kept relatively small is that the staff wishes to keep the facilities together in one location for the facilitation of community life.

[7]Since the language of the Seminar is English, a knowledge of the Swedish language is not needed for the Seminar courses, but for other reasons it is useful for participants to know some Swedish.

[8]A basic course in the use of computer facilities and programming is also included.

[9]In fact, one of the functions of the Seminar in promoting research is to discuss and plan a research project to be taken up by the participant when he returns home.

[10]Bergman, pp. 5-6.

[11]No written report of this study was provided. This information was from the interview.

[12]By dialogical communication, of course, I mean that which in method and in spirit encourages interaction and a two-way process of shared meaning as opposed to monological, which is only one-way with little or no concern by the sender for the conditions and attitudes of the recipient.

[13]I think there are implications in the Uppsala model for what Davis Bobrow is talking about in his chapter "Transfer of Meaning Across National Boundaries," in Richard L. Merritt (ed.) Communication in International Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 33-61. See specifically his claim that "we need models not of international relations but of structures and processes which result in different degrees of something, such as violence, equity, arms procurement, or adaptation. (pp. 55-56) Though the Uppsala Seminar is at the educational and scientific level rather than at the political level, it seems to me that it is a "process" which results in "different degrees" of "adoption" for

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the participants as well as the educational institutions they represent. In this sense, it could be illustrative of "the changing orientation" Bobrow wants to see.

[14]Daniel Lerner, "International Cooperation and Communication in National Development," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (eds.) Communication and Change in the Developing Countries (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), pp. 119-120. See the entire chapter.

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LOOKING AT ISLANDERS: EUROPEAN WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT POLYNESIANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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In the spring of 1768, the French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville put in at the island of Tahiti. "As we approached the land," he wrote, "the natives surrounded the ships. The crush of canoes around the vessels was so heavy that we had great trouble coming to a mooring amid the crowd and the noise. They all came shouting tayo, which means friend, and giving us a thousand evidences of it.... The canoes were filled with women, who yielded nothing in beauty of face to most Europeans, and who, for bodily beauty, could compete with any at advantage. Most of these nymphs were naked, because the men and the old women who accompanied them had taken off the loincloth with which they usually covered themselves. From their canoes, at first, they made provocative gestures, in which, despite their naivete, there could be discovered some embarrassment; whether because everywhere nature has given the feminine sex an ingenuous timidity, or because even in the land where the freedom of the golden age reigns, women appear not to want what they most desire. The men, more simple or more free, soon made themselves clear: they pressed us to choose a woman, to follow her ashore, and unequivocal gestures demonstrated the manner in which their acquaintance would be made. I ask: how to keep at work, in the midst of such a spectacle, four hundred Frenchmen, young, sailors, who have seen no women for six months? Despite all our precautions, a young girl got on board and stood on the quarterdeck on one of the hatchways above the capstan, open for ventilation for those below. Negligently, the girl let her loincloth fall, and appeared to the eyes of all as Venus showed herself to the Phrygian shepherd: she had the goddess' divine form. Sailors and soldiers rushed to the hatchway, and no capstan was ever turned with such alacrity."[1]

Consider the scene. Bougainville's ships are the bearers of civilization, something of which the Tahitians know next to nothing. The crewmen are under discipline, below decks, literally, hard at work in the last moments of a six-month voyage which has been nothing but hard work--the labor, let us call it, of repression. They are Europeans half a year and half a world away from Europe, but civilization and its discontents are still heavy upon them, intolerably so at this moment, when one last, laborious, constrained task remains to be done. They see before them a land where the freedom of the golden age reigns, and it is joyously evident that one component of freedom is to be sexual--a release, let us call it, from repression. They rush to turn the capstan, the anchor goes out, the ship comes to rest, and then, as another writer says, describing the scene, they stand on the beach of this dream world, embrace their nymphs, and walk straight into the golden age.

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In this moment, Polynesia was invented. Not discovered, invented--or, perhaps better, created for the West. As a matter of historical fact, Europeans had been sailing the Pacific for two-and-a-half centuries before Bougainville, and he had been beaten to the honor of discovering Tahiti by a British naval officer. But the Frenchman, not the Englishman, put the discovery in philosophical rather than geographical terms. It was Bougainville, in the published version of his journal, who showed thoughtful Europeans what Polynesia might mean to them.

That meaning emerged from questionings as old as European civilization itself, questionings which became particularly pointed once Europe began to engage itself with non-Europe in the age of exploration. At every point in time during this extended age, and at every place along the way, there was a chance for Europeans to put a value on the rest of the world as they encountered it, piece by piece. That is, Europeans were led by the experience of exploration and contact with alien peoples, then by the experience of colonization and imperial control, to say that this or that part of the non-European world was different from or similar to or better than or worse than Europe.

Politically, economically, militarily, Europe considered itself and showed itself to be superior in its own terms--look at a geopolitical map of the world at the end of the nineteenth century, and see how little of the earth's surface there was where a European flag did not fly. Given this record, it is surprising at first glance to find that again and again, Europeans compared themselves and their superbly successful culture of expansion unfavorably with cultures they came across elsewhere in the world.

The problem is clear. The conquerors of the world are not sure that in human terms they deserve their victories, are not altogether sure that the victories, even if deserved, are worth much. This does not inhibit them from going on to attempt greater and greater victories, but the doubt lingers and nags.

Freud knows why, as he so often does.[2] He makes the very simple and sensible point that all of Western man's mastery of the earth has not made him noticeably happier. He says that, in fact, the very process of exploration and colonization which put European man in more or less close contact with peoples and places which he would call "primitive" induced among many thoughtful Europeans a sort of hostility to their own civilization.

Civilized, energetic, expansive, technically adept Western man, godlike in his mastery of the world, is then, says Freud, a prosthetic god. When he puts on all his prostheses, his auxiliary organs, his discoveries and inventions, he is truly magnificent. But those organs are not natural, they did not grow on him, and he is not altogether easy with them; they continue to give him trouble at times.

It may be, indeed, that with all his artificial aids, Western man has diminished rather than expanded his essential humanity. Freud is saying that the material and even the intellectual accomplishment of the West has had its price, a very expensive one, which, simply stated, is a loss of certain kinds of freedom and happiness for the individual: civilization is repression.

So it is that Western man, every so often in his irresistible march across the globe, stops and wonders a little sadly what it is all about, especially when he sees among "primitives," so-called, another kind of man, another kind of human nature, one which seems to live closer to its feelings, its instincts, in a society apparently less regimented, less complicated, less stressful. Western man is then dimly aware that he is looking at himself when young, before the deepest sorts of individual freedom and happiness were civilized away from him.

This nostalgia for a lost ideal past may be universal. Certainly in Europe it is as old as the Greeks. They had a myth of the golden age, a time of freedom and happiness lost forever and not to be regained. The Christian myth of the origins of humankind added resonance to the idea. Adam and Eve dwelled in Eden, and Eden was a Hebrew word

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meaning freedom and delight. They acquired knowledge by eating the apple, and with knowledge they acquired a heavy burden of guilt which made it impossible for them to dwell any longer in Eden, in freedom and delight. Knowledge, that is to say, was catastrophic. From then on, Western man, industrious reader of the Bible, has at one level of his being associated worldly wisdom, prerequisite of high civilization and high imperial conquest, with a loss of purity, innocence, freedom. Thus civilization can never be free of discontents. There is always the lurking consciousness that everything deriving from human knowledge is a mistake in the deepest sense, something that in the best of all possible worlds would be got rid of, abandoned in favor of purity and innocence, freedom and delight.

Before the age of exploration it was generally held that this golden age was gone for good, and would never return. It was lost, buried in the vast rubbish heap of history so laboriously piled up by civilized man as monument to his own technological cleverness. Later, though, once Western man had the technical expertise of exploration, it began to seem possible that man in the golden age, unspoiled man in an unspoiled state of nature, might not have disappeared, but might actually exist in contemporary time, somewhere else.

One of the first and most persistent themes of European contact with the non-European world, then, is a conscious search for the earthly paradise.[3] It was variously held to be located in a shadowy kingdom called Ethiopia, or perhaps at the unknown sources of the river Nile. In the days when ocean exploration was in its fancy, the earthly paradise was held to be perhaps on an isolated island somewhere in the western oceans. Notice again a kind of double vision--proud Europe sets sail and in doing so humbles its pride. The earthly paradise is so far away from Europe as to be inaccessible and unknown, so far away, in fact, as to be unattainable. It is always imagined, at symbolically pure places such as the source of a river or the shores of a water-washed island.

Paradise, then, is uncivilized. By definition, as well, if paradise is found to exist, and is found to be inhabited by man, it will not be by Christian man. Christian man lost paradise long ago, through the grievous sin of Adam, and all his civilized search and toil since has not been able to restore it to him.

The expectation is to find, as the inhabitant of paradise, the noble savage. Savage because he did not have the Christian faith of Europeans, noble because despite this lack he was held to have the virtues of humankind before the Fall.

Columbus, sighting for the first time the islands of the Caribbean off the American continent, was convinced that he had arrived in the land of the biblical Old Testament, and that he was, if not in Paradise, then close to it. The native of the Caribbean thus appears in world history as the first noble savage of the New World. He is physically beautiful, and his body's beauty is the more apparent because he wears few clothes, or none. Physical beauty is the outward indication of a beautiful nature: he is naturally good, peaceable, cordial, hospitable, frank, trusting. As a member of his society, he lives in a state of nature, unconcerned about accumulating property, unconcerned about matters of rank and status. He is a communal egalitarian. That is, in every respect he is different from the European--and superior. Columbus, discovering the New World, has instantly made its inhabitants fit existing European notions of the golden age and the noble savage. In his descriptions are mingled elements from Greek and Roman thought, medieval musings about the blessed isles to the west, and of course heavy infusions of Christian thought.

After this, as the age of exploration and discovery matures, there is a high tide of interest in the idea of the noble savage. One after another, new places are revealed, and new types of men are held up to inspection. As this goes on, it becomes apparent as well that Europe is constantly engaged in self-criticism, or at least self-evaluation.

Once exploration becomes self-sustaining, the announced search for the actual earthly paradise fades away, the victim of too much information, the accumulation of knowledge about the actual conditions of life of men in the world. The earthly paradise is replaced

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by a literary or philosophical paradise, the utopia. Travelers' tales came to be used as the basis for general discussions about the nature of man and the prospect for the perfect society. Utopian writing developed conventions of its own. The story might begin with a shipwreck or some other disaster (notice again the idea of civilized enterprise foundering). A single surviving voyager is cast away on some unfamiliar shore, and discovers there a perfect society, which he describes in terms that cannot help being unflattering to existing European society. Perhaps the most relevant aspect of this literary tradition is its name, Utopia, which means nowhere.

Another way to make the same points about Europe and non-Europe was to have the reverse happen--to have a European exploring expedition bring back to the home country some wise savage from a distant place, and to have him exposed to civilization. He is likely to comment wittily and piercingly on the contrasts he finds. He amazes everybody by the natural beauty and soundness of his body and his mind. He becomes the darling of society and perhaps the lover of philosophically inquiring high-born ladies, and then--final comment upon the attractions of Europe--dies of boredom or nostalgia or some fell disease.

Of all centuries in the age of exploration, the eighteenth was perhaps the most seriously interested in the matter of the noble savage, most seriously interested to find out whether the perfect man might still exist in the perfect state. This for several reasons. First, there had been centuries of exploration. Knowledge about the physical world and its inhabitants was piling up. Second, in the wake of exploration, there had been a great deal of thinking and writing about Europe and its civilization in relation to the outside world. The best and most sophisticated philosophical minds had been at work. Third, as perhaps a related phenomenon, but one which carried its own weight of objective reality, the West was approaching an age of revolutionary crisis. Americans were about to cut loose from Britishers in the interests of fresh new beginnings; the French were about to wash their age-encrusted civilization clean in revolutionary blood.

Now, on the eve of this critical period in the history of politics and of ideas in the West, the attention of thinking Europeans was drawn to new discoveries in the farthest of the world's oceans, the Pacific. It had become urgent, so to speak, for the West to find a real noble savage. The Caribbean Indian of Columbus would no longer serve, nor would the North American Indian. The African Negro had failed in his turn, and now seemed good principally for slavery. Civilized non-Europeans--Chinese, Persians, and so on--had had their vogue, but their disqualification ultimately was that they were too civilized. What was wanted above all was the true, the genuine, the total, the unspoiled noble savage.

Consider where he was most likely to be found, and by whom. It would be best if he were found far away; goodness is likely to be distant from badness, and extended travel gives the traveler a sizeable investment in finding good, as a reward for effort. It would be best if he were found on an island, since civilization was by its nature continental, and utopias were by their natures small societies. It would be best, further, if he were found on a warm island. Most of the imaginative reconstructions of the earthly paradise had tropical overtones, and for fairly obvious reasons. The noble savage would display his body as the outward beautiful sign and emblem of his inner spiritual beauty. He would go naked, hiding nothing of himself. Freedom of physical movement would be matched by social freedom, and would stem from it: no enslavement to binding, restricting clothes, or to binding social custom. His environment would provide for him at a level of plenty which would exempt him from the grubbing meanness associated with the accumulation of wealth through work in a situation of scarcity. And there would be no grubbing meanness in his sexuality, either, no repressed, heavily legitimated monogamous Christian marital relationships, but the open realization of the pleasure principle--freedom and happiness. And then the ships of Bougainville put in at Tahiti, and the beautiful naked islanders appeared, and the dream was made flesh.

The popularity of the Polynesian as the embodiment of the noble savage burned hot for a short time, and then burned out. This for the simple reason that the Polynesian was not

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as advertised by enthusiastic Europeans. The Tahitian's neighbor, the Marquesan, for example, turned out to be a cannibal. The cold-weather Polynesian, the Maori of New Zealand, turned out to be an opportunistic dealer in human heads, those of his friends and neighbors as well as those of his enemies; and when in the nineteenth century the supply tended to run short, he was willing to turn another Maori into trade goods on the spot rather than risk losing a sale to a visiting European ship's captain. The life-loving Tahitian practiced abortion, infanticide, and human sacrifice. And the affable, welcoming Hawaiian--he killed the greatest European explorer of all, James Cook.

To take the Polynesian on faith as the embodiment of all the noble-savage dreams of Europe was as foolish as to condemn him utterly later on for cultural traits which did not match European expectation and practice. But this was the sequence of events. If the late eighteenth century in Europe was a period in which self-criticism was possible and fashionable, the nineteenth emerged as an era in which self-criticism gave way to self-praise, in which Europeans came to see themselves in the world context as lords of creation, prosthetic gods with a vengeance. The nineteenth century, of course, is the great century of the spread of European dominance in the Pacific, as elsewhere; and as more and more of the earth is subdued to Europe's purposes, more and more this come to seem a satisfactory state of affairs, and less and less does it seem necessary to hold up the Pacific islander as a corrective mirror to European man. In fact, this comes to seem absurd.

In the nineteenth century, the noble savage becomes the ignoble savage, by the easiest of transpositions. It is possible to regard the uncivilized as the pure, the natural, the good, as influential thinkers of the later eighteenth century tended to do. It is equally possible, especially under evangelical Christian influence--and remember that the nineteenth century in the Pacific is the missionary century--to regard the uncivilized as the childish, even the animal, the brute, the depraved one, who must be led, taught, trained, dominated, for his own sake, as well as to body forth the glory of the European and the European's God. In turn the missionary, the trader, the naval commander, the planter, the diplomat, and the annexationist politician are led to acknowledge the rightness, the justice, and the inevitability of the white man's triumph. This is also the century of Darwinian evolutionary theory, and Darwin's ideas are made to fit human affairs as well as the affairs of birds and beasts and plants.

The conclusion is inescapable. "The word in the beginning seems to have been spoken to the white man," wrote a sugar planter in Hawaii in the eighteen-eighties, "when he was commanded to 'subdue the earth and have dominion over it.' Europe was given to the white man, America to the red man, Asia to the yellow man and Africa to the black man. And with slight exceptions the white man is the only one that has ventured beyond the 'bounds of his habitations.' He has overrun Europe, and crossing the Atlantic westward has taken possession of America, and is 'monarch of all he surveys' from Cape Horn to Behring's [sic] Strait. He has stepped across the Pacific Ocean, leaving the imprint of his enterprising foot upon the various islands of the sea; he has taken possession of Australia and India, with their countless thousands; he has gone to Africa, and this time to stay, you bet--this time, it will not be a Mungo Park, a Livingstone, a Baker or a Stanley, as a traveler of explorer. The coming of the white man to Africa means government, enterprise, agriculture, commerce, churches, schools, law and order. It will be better for the colored man of India and Australia that the white man rules, and it is better here that the white man should rule...."[4]

The idea of the islander as either noble or ignoble in his savagery is really nothing more or less than a conscious handling by Westerners of the unconscious awareness of a lost childhood, which returns either as something to be yearned after or as something to be repressed. The returned child, in the shape of the savage islander, is to be welcomed or he is to be dominated, out of fear. Eighteenth-century philosophers were prepared to entertain the idea of the first approach; nineteenth-century people involved in the imperial-colonial enterprise were committed to the second approach. If the noble savage survived in the nineteenth century, it was mostly in the minds of creative artists, themselves often

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badly repressed by the weight of industrial civilization that bore on them. In the work of Herman Melville can be found the tension between the duties of civilized man and the seductive freedom offered him in the islands of the South Seas. In the life of Paul Gauguin, fleeing the bourgeois world of the Paris banking business for Tahiti and then the Marquesas, is seen the working out of the noble savage myth for perhaps the last time that can be connected with the philosophic impulse generated by Bougainville.

Because notions of noble and ignoble savagery among non-Europeans are so basic to Western views of the world, and because these views in turn originate in and are worked out through the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is not surprising that they continue to turn up, in however muted a form, in the twentieth century. Clearly the tourist industry purports to offer the traveler to the islands a version of Bougainville's experience. And just as clearly, all forms of twentieth-century "aid" to islanders are expressions of the nineteenth-century corrective and improving impulse.

FOOTNOTES

[1]L. A. de Bougainville, Voyage Autour du Monde par la Frégate du Roi La Boudeuse et la Flûte Étoile, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1772, II, 29-31.

[2]S. Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, Norton, New York, 1962, passim.

[3]H. Baudet, Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1965, passim.

[4]Planters' Monthly, Honolulu, November, 1886, 199.

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UNDERSTANDING HUMAN INTERACTION: THE STUDY OF EVERYDAY LIFE AND ORDINARY TALK

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> There is a legend in Estonia that the god of song Wannemunne once descended onto the Domberg, and there, in a sacred wood, played and sang music of divine beauty. All creatures were invited to listen, and they each learned some fragment of the celestial sound: the forest learned its rustling, the stream its roar; the wind caught and learned to re-echo the shrillest tones, and the birds the prelude of the song . . . . Man alone grasped it all, and therefore his song pierces into the depths of the heart, and mounts upward to the dwellings of the gods (Wheelwright 1968:3).

> The words of the prophets are written on the subway walls and tenement halls (Paul Simon, from his song "The Sound of Silence" 1965).

Two views of language: The Estonian story of the origin of language stresses the beauty of form and transcendence in the most creative reaches of human expression, poetry and myth. The lyrics from a rock song present another view, stressing the same beauty and transcendence in ordinary language, graffiti , and the language of the street.

Of course they both relate to culture learning. For ideally, learning <u>about</u> another culture includes learning both the highest artistic and spiritual expressions of its people, and their everyday patterns of thinking and doing. Clearly, however, learning to live in another society as someone more than a total stranger <u>requires</u> that the ordinary and everyday be a part of what we might call one's cultural repertoire, or fund of knowledge and skills for living. In fact, one measure of whether a person has learned another culture is whether his/her behavior is accepted as correct and appropriate by members of that society (Goodenough 1957).

Because communication is at the heart of acquiring one's native culture, as well as learning someone else's culture, researchers concerned with problems of culture contact and cultural identity have for some time studied language processes to gain insights into other social processes. If we look at culture learning as essentially a matter of communication, then we can also see it as a special case of cross-cultural communication. Effort has been expended on improving communication across different cultures, but systematic study of the processes underlying both the failures and successes in communication has been somewhat rare.

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One of the insights of recent interdisciplinary work in anthropology and linguistics is that an understanding of the dynamics and difficulties in cross-cultural communication should be based initially on understanding the dynamics and processes of communication within local communities. It follows that if we are concerned with how people communicate with each other, we should begin by looking at interaction in everyday life.

This paper is an integrative and evaluative summary of some of the approaches and findings of interdisciplinary research into everyday life and ordinary talk. We begin with a discussion of the interactional approach to studying communication, socialization, and speech. Then we go on to the analysis of natural conversation to demonstrate the kinds of insights into social meaning which such analysis can provide.

Some Interactional Principles

Traditional sociology and social anthropology have regarded social structure as a system of rights and duties which are properties of individuals (actors) in particular ranks or statuses. An individual has been regarded as having a multiplicity of statuses and roles from which to select according to the situation he finds himself in at any given moment. Choices are structured by norms for behavior in the society, which specify what status and role are appropriate to which situation.

Yet this traditional view of status and role as properties of individuals is a static characterization of the social system, and when applied to ongoing interaction, fails to explain the uses which individuals can make of social encounters.

Ward Goodenough (1965) has suggested instead that rights and duties are properties of interaction rather than of individuals. He argues that an actor decides how he wishes to present himself--what identity he wishes to take--according to what he wants to accomplish in a given interaction. Goodenough has thus reversed the traditional view of status and role to argue that if settings and occasions affect the identity an actor will select, conversely, selecting a particular identity shapes the occasion itself. The point here is that social relationships and identities are not static properties of individuals, but emerge as part of an ongoing interaction, and are realized by the mutual flows and adaptations of the participants in the interaction. In this sense, status and role are negotiated rather than assumed (Cicourel 1972).

In contemporary sociology, the interactional analysis of social encounters has been developed insightfully, if not precisely, by Erving Goffman in a number of books and papers written in the past few years (e.g., 1959, 1961, 1963, 1967, 1969, 1971). Goffman has argued that in any interaction, each actor provides a field of action for the other actors, and the reciprocity thus established allows the participants to exercise their interpersonal skills in formulating the situation, presenting and enacting a self or identity, and using strategies to accomplish other interactional ends.

One significant result of the interactional perspective on social organization is that the focus comes to be on human action more than on human arrangement. This implies that the nature of social organization and social structure in any society is not best illuminated by studying idealized and traditional statements or "charters" for norms and relationships. Rather, the attention shifts to ordinary, everyday life, where status, role, and norm are continually worked and reworked, revised and created in ongoing interaction (Garfinkel and Sacks 1969). As expressed by Harold Garfinkel, "the moral order consists of the rule governed activities of everyday life" (1972:1). (See also Cicourel 1972:242-50; and Cicourel 1970).

A second implication has to do with what we mean by socialization, whether from the point of view of a child growing up in a society, the continued socialization of an adult member of the society, or an outsider attempting to learn to live in the society and adopt its culture. Traditionally, socialization was seen as a developmental process: the newly

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born human being gradually learns, in a series of specifiable maturational stages, how to live in the social and natural environment which exists prior to his entrance, and continues after his exit. But taking an interactional approach alters the meaning of socialization. Now, socialization becomes "the acquisition of interactional competences," that is, a child becomes a social being by interacting with other social beings in everyday activities (Speier, 1970:189). For child socialization, it means that the child is not the vessel into which culture is poured, but actively creates a social being while affecting the external world, through interacting with other social beings. For the stranger acquiring another culture, it means that true culture learning is competence in everyday life.

When people experience what is called "culture shock" on going from one society to another, it is probably not the obvious differences which cause the greatest sense of personal disorganization. In other words, it is probably not the differences in physical landscape, climate, religion, dress or even food which brings about the strongest sense of confusion. More often, it is in the assumptions underlying everyday life, shared by members of a society by virtue of constant interaction from birth, assumptions which are so much a part of the culture that they are not even consciously held. For instance, one American reports an experience of his own, when working in London. He found that it is not unusual to be issued an invitation to "Come over at 8 p.m." But this invitation does not indicate whether or not dinner will be served. The underlying social assumption here is that the guest is of the same social class as the host, and that therefore it is impolite not to assume that the guest shares the same social habits and expectations as the host. Being both an outsider, and also aware that social customs are changing in London, the American was never sure whether dinner would be served or not. A friend advised him of a strategy for dealing with this situation: "We always have a sandwich before going out. If we are given dinner, we are not too full to eat it. If we are not given dinner, we will be able to get through the evening without starving."[1]

Thus another implication of the interactional approach has to do with what the social scientist sets out to study if interested in how people formulate identity, how they relate to each other, and on what grounds they function in their everyday life. The research focus is on communication among participants in ... interaction, that is, especially on talk and on body language (proxemics, kinesics, etc.). Elsewhere in this volume, Boucher addresses the question of how emotion or affect displays correspond to the immediate situation in social interaction, and their use as strategies to accompany language. Here we will concentrate on talk, and especially on the kind of talk which we call conversation.

Some Conversational Principles

A. What time is it?

B. Look, we're going to make it, so stop worrying.

What are people doing when they talk to each other? How does one person manage to get a meaning across to another person? And how does the listener go about figuring out what the speaker is trying to say?

Learning the structure of a language, and learning how to create well-formed phrases and sentences which violate no linguistic dicta, is not the same as learning to use that language in social interaction. In order to communicate effectively, to interpret intelligently, and to perceive the social processes underlying interaction, learning a language must include learning the rules for speaking in a given community. The rules for speaking I take to be the nexus between language learning and culture learning.

Rules for speaking are not linguistic rules, they are social rules. Yet social rules operate much like linguistic rules: "they determine the actor's choice among culturally available modes of action or strategies in accordance with the constraints provided by

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communicative intent, setting, and identity relationships" (Gumperz 1972:16). That is, rules for speaking are guides for what strategies a given speaker may use in order to get across his meaning to the particular hearer he is talking to, within the context of where, when, and how the interaction is taking place.

For some time, folklorists, anthropologists, and linguists have studied rules for speaking in certain kinds of speech events, such as storytelling (folktale, myth), spoken ritual (prayer, incantation), riddling, chanting, joking, recitation, and oratory. These kinds of speech events resemble each other in that they tend to be clearly bounded (have formulas for beginning, middle, and end), and are traditional in form and/or content. Furthermore, in most cultures there are labels or names for these speech events.

More recently, in the sub-discipline (some have called it a social movement) of sociolinguistics, linguists, sociologists and anthropologists have come together to look at some less formalized kinds of speech events, and to study the social rules governing them. For most members of a society, highly formalized speech events are more rare occurrences than everyday, ordinary conversation. Yet we know very little about the assumptions behind what people say in conversations; how they manage to weave their utterances together into a coherent whole; how they know when, how much, and what to say, and how they know what not to say. The new focus of study, therefore, is on natural conversation, or spontaneous talk (see Soskin and John 1963).

In the example above, on the surface of it Speaker B's statement does not follow from the question of Speaker A. It is neither an answer to Speaker A's question, nor does it make any other reference to the form or content of A's utterance. Yet, a member of American culture would have little difficulty figuring out: 1) the meaning which Speaker B has attributed to Speaker A's question; 2) the intention of Speaker B's reply to Speaker A. If we were to write an interpretation of what is really going on in this interaction, it might look like this (alternative interpretations are possible, of course):

Text	Gloss
A. What time is it?	Speaker's intent: The sun has already set, it's getting dark, and we're supposed to be there at 7:30, but we have more than an hour's drive left. I'm afraid that we're going to be late. I'm really worried about it, but I know that my getting worried irritates you. Interactional task: communication of concern, desire for reassurance, etc.
B. Look, we're going to make it, so stop worrying.	Speaker's intent: I'm aware of how late it is, but I can't do anything about it, and we'll probably get there on time, anyway. In any case, worrying does no good and only makes me irritable, as you know. Interactional task: communication of irritation/reassurance, termination of topic, etc.

Notice that there is a distinction between the semantic meaning of the utterances, and the social meaning of the utterances. Thus, B's reply is based on the relationship which she has to A, and to the background of experiences and understandings which they share. The question form--which from a purely linguistic point of view is designed to elicit an answer appropriate to the topic of the question--is being used to make a statement about the immediate situation, the emotional condition of the speaker, and the relationship

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between the speaker and the person to whom the question is addressed. The participants in this interaction are using speech to create and maintain a social situation.

An analysis of the kind offered here, of course, must begin within a much broader descriptive framework. The most comprehensive analytical scheme for analyzing speech has been offered by Dell Hymes, in a series of papers over several years. An anthropologist, Hymes argues that we should be able to write an ethnography of speaking or communication comparable to (i.e., as thoroughly descriptive as) the ethnography of a culture.

As the social unit of analysis, Hymes defines speech community as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (Hymes 1972:54). Notice that a speech community must share rules for speaking, not only rules for grammar. Thus, although at one level we may say that Singaporeans and Californians are part of the same speech community in that they share a grammatical knowledge of English, at the social interactional level we must conclude that they are not part of the same speech community, since they do not share the same social rules for speaking. Similarly, anthropologists can be said to constitute a speech community of a sort, speaking anthropologese (whatever the natural language may be!), a speech variety with rules for usage which are not shared with non-anthropologists.

The activity unit in Hymes' analytical framework is the speech event, a series of speech acts set off in some way from other activities and other speech events. For example, a conversation at a party, the offering of a prayer, or a telephone call, would qualify as a speech event.

Each speech event can be broken down into components which provide for it a descriptive framework for discovering the important dimensions shaping the interaction. Hymes has conveniently assembled these components under labels which, taken together, spell out SPEAKING, a very handy mnemonic for remembering them. As set out by Hymes, they are:

S -- setting and scene

P -- participants

E -- ends (goals)

A -- act sequence (message form and content)

K -- key (tone, manner, or spirit)

I -- instrumentalities (forms of speech)

N -- norms of interpretation

G -- genres

For any conversational interaction, the analyst notes the characteristics defined by the framework, and then relates these to the interaction itself. The next step, therefore, is to consider the intent of the speakers, and the step-by-step manner in which they achieve communication.

The example of speech interchange analyzed above, using both a text or transcription of speech and a gloss of the intent of the speaker and interactional tasks being accomplished, has been developed by John Gumperz (see Gumperz and Herasimchuk 1973). Gumperz points out that in the analysis of face to face interaction, social categories and social roles can be treated as communicative symbols: "they are signalled in the act of speaking and have a function in the communication process which is akin to that of

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syntax in the communication of referential meaning" (ibid: 99). Knowledge of the social values and relationships implied in the communication is necessary in order to understand the "situated meaning of a message, i.e., its interpretation in a particular context" (ibid; see also Gumperz 1970). Gumperz and his students thus seek to discover the verbal patterns in conversation which are used as signalling devices or communicative symbols, and also, the underlying social values and understandings which are associated with these symbols. Conversational analysis begins by breaking down a chunk of talk into episodes. Episodes are marked by such boundaries as a change in topic, a change in role of the participants, or some other shift or break in the interaction.

Because both talk and transcription are linear, communication lends itself to such sequential analysis. The pioneering study in conversational sequencing was carried out by Emanuel Schegloff on telephone conversations (1968; also reprinted in Gumperz and Hymes 1972). On the basis of the order in which utterances were made, and the functions which they served in easing communication, Schegloff was able to extract a number of social rules for telephone conversation; for example, the "distribution rule" (the answerer speaks first), and rules for taking turns (see also Sperier 1972 and Schegloff 1972). His illustrations of what happens when the conventions of telephone use are violated are compelling, pointing out both our dependence on such rules, and the structure which they introduce into social interaction. Sequencing, then, is one of the significant principles of any communication process, and sequential analysis can be applied to all forms of speech event, including punning (Sacks 1973), conversational asides (Jefferson 1972), therapy talk (Turner 1972), and storytelling (Watson 1972). (See also Sacks, in press).

Another principle of communication and conversation is that much speech interaction is routine. Or to put it another way, routines constitute a high percentage of the exchange in talking. By routine is meant a sequence of utterances or behaviors which is regular and procedural, and which communicates as much by its form as by its content (for a definition and discussion of linguistic routine, see Hymes 1971; and Watson, forthcoming). A routine exists when conventional or symbolic meanings have become attached to speech or behavior carried out in a particular sequence a particular style. Thus the identification of routines is a next step in conversational analysis. Examples of some familiar routines, with clear boundaries at beginning and end, are greetings, leave-takings, thanks, and apologies. But most routines are not identifiable by name.

When two participants in a speech event share the same routines, their cooperation in speaking and being understood is greatly facilitated.[2] A classic analysis of a conversational routine was made by Karl Reisman, on speech which he recorded in an Antiguan village (Reisman 1970). He found that speakers in a particular kind of conversation (called "making noise") interacted with each other in a way reminiscent of musical counterpoint, and referred to the form as contrapuntal conversation: "each voice has a 'tune' and maintains it; and . . . the voices often sing independently at the same time" (ibid: 2).

A similar contrapuntal and alternating structure is also the underlying design for cooperatively produced "talk story" and joking among Hawaiian children (Watson, forthcoming). When added to the already musical and rhythmic contours of Hawaiian English (a creole speech variety), the effect is to make cooperatively produced stories sound like responsive chanting. Even false starts--mistakes in speech--become an elaboration on the basic rhythm: proper rhythm is actually more important than proper content.

Routines, especially those which are contrapuntal or resemble the chant, raise questions about the relationship of routines to ritual, and how social rules for speaking apply to both. Routines seem related to ritual, in that they are formalized patterns of speech and behavior. However, routines are not sacred--they exist only as social habits, with no component of sanctity. Furthermore, ritual seems aimed at a different level of human reactivity from routine. A ritual "speaks" less to the mind than to the body; a ritual gets to the emotional and unconscious level as well as to the cognitive level. Routines, on the other hand, as we have seen, are aimed at expediting and easing the communication of intent, message, and/or social relationships, and so

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function at a less fundamental level of human interaction than ritual. Yet many of the insights from interactional and conversational analysis may be usable in analyzing sequencing in ritual, and the communication of symbolic meaning. Certainly storytelling as a speech event as well as a myth-creating event, benefits greatly from a rhetorical approach in which rules of speaking play a primary role (see Abrahams 1968, and Watson 1973).

Summary

The interactional approaches to conversational analysis and speaking rules are relatively recent, and so far have been applied mostly to speakers of English, with some significant exceptions.[3] But the use of these techniques and the insights they lend to human interaction, promise well for understanding communication within speech communities, and across speech communities. Hopefully, the findings of conversational analysis will be applicable to solving problems in culture learning and cross-cultural communication.

One area of conversational analysis as yet little developed is the study of conversational rhythm. British linguists in particular, have worked out systems and vocabularies for studying intonation, tempo, and other aspects of speech rhythm. But almost no work has been done so far on the social rules for conversational rhythm, the meanings attached to intonational contours in speech, or the symbolic association of rhythm and intonation contour to shared values. Certainly, anyone living in Hawaii and hearing Hawaiian English spoken everyday becomes aware that so much of the significant social and semantic meaning in an interaction is carried in the melodies, hesitations, and modulations of the voice. It seems very likely, in fact, that what we mean by achieving rapport, and by <u>really</u> communicating with another person, has to do with knowing and flowing with shared verbal and non-verbal routines, and with shared rhythms of speaking.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Mark Lester, personal communication.

[2]One of the significant indications that a person has learned another language and culture is the ability to participate in the routines of humor--to joke, make puns, or use irony. Humor depends on a depth of knowledge of the rules for speaking and the cultural values of a community. An interesting illustration of how rules for speaking and cultural background underlie humor is found in Michael Forman's analysis of a Filipino radio station in Honolulu. Humor among the staff follows the patterns of bilingual Tagalog-English speakers in Manila, for whom language mixing rather than "pure Tagalog" or "pure English" is the natural speech for informal conversation. Such mixing is used very effectively to create bilingual puns. For example, playing on sound similarities between Tagalog and English, or on typical pronunciation mistakes of Filipino speakers in English, the following kinds of puns--not caught by a non-Tagalog English speaker--can be used to spice a conversation:

He's a bwisiting professor from California.
(bwisit--Tag.: nuisance + Eng.: visiting)

Nag-attend ako ng kainference.
"I attended a kainference."
(kain--Tag.: eat + Eng.: conference)

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Nagbisita ng klase kahapon ang mga superbasura.
"Yesterday the superbasuras visited classes."
(basura--Tag.: garbage + Eng.: supervisor)

(Forman 1974:5)

[3]Some of these are: Albert 1972; Frake 1972; Roberts and Forman 1972; Dundes, Leach and Özkok 1972; Moerman 1972; and Reisman 1970.

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THE AMERICAN WAY WITH NAMES

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The purpose of this paper will be to examine the American way with names--how Americans use personal names. If there is a system of usage, that system can be taught in English as a Foreign or Second Language classrooms. If that system is related to the cultural values of American society, then we will have added another link to the chain binding language and culture together.

Lenneberg,[1] in a discussion of the contextual determinants in common naming, cites some factors of an extra-linguistic nature in choosing which name to use;

> . . . the speaker's intent, the type of person he is addressing himself to, or the nature of the social occasion . . .

and then goes on to assert;

> Only proper names are relatively immune from these extra-linguistic determining factors.

I am afraid Lenneberg has erred here; indeed this paper will attempt to show that proper names and their derivatives are, if anything, even more subject to those extra-linguistic factors than are ordinary names.

I would like to extend an earlier statement by Lenneberg in the same work, that;

> . . . most words may be said to label realms of concepts rather than physical things.

to the use of proper names also. This extension will become important later in the paper when, having established the existence of a general system in proper name usage, we will see how certain substitutions must be resorted to when gaps in the system occur (thus leaving certain concepts unlabelled).

In presenting and discussing the data of this paper, the methodology will be to go from the general and regular to the specific and irregular. It is fair to say that the teaching and learning of foreign language has generally followed this procedure of going from regular to irregular and certainly Lenneberg's description of first language acquisition would support such an approach;

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> The infant's emerging patterns of language acquisition are global, undifferentiated aspects which gradually unfold until the fully differentiated rules, lexical items, and phonological skills are established. The history of development is one in which the grammatical apparatus becomes more and more complex: accretion is by way of a progressive differentiation of language mechanisms.

Despite their varying historical origins and the many extra-linguistic factors that cross-cut and influence the use of American names, it is quite clear that the regularity of their usage is highly suggestive of the presence of rules that govern their behavior and shape in a manner similar to the rules, suggested by Chomsky and other generative grammarians since 1957, governing many aspects of language behaviour. In this paper, however, I will be more concerned with presenting prose descriptions of the data and their behaviour than I will with formalized rules. I would prefer this paper to be informative, useful and interesting in a non-technical sense.

The discussion will center on proper names,[2] especially first names and their derivatives,[3] the nickname and the affectionate nickname. During the course of the discussion it will become clearer what is meant by the terms first full name (FFN), nickname (Nn), and affectionate nickname (AfNn) but it might be worthwhile at this point to essay a first rough approximation by describing some ways they are used and by whom.

The FFN is the "christian" or given name that appears on the child's birth certificate along with (usually) a middle name and then the family name e.g., James Fenimore Cooper or Eleanor Holmes Norton.[4] The FFN is the base from which the Nn and the AfNn are derived in a majority of cases. The FFN is normally used as a form of address in situations of a slightly less than official nature when the acquaintance is rather new. The FFN is often used by subordinates to superiors when they have worked long enough to not be required to call them by title or last name. Although the FFN is the base form from which the Nn and the AfNn are derived and is the form which must be used on all official documents, it is probably the least used form in conversation. This is due to the relatively few occasions when one is in a new-acquaintance, relatively formal but less-than-official and/or public situation.

One of the few situations where the FFN continues to be used is by an employee to his boss when they are in a long-term relationship but the rank or status gap between them is too large to use a Nn--although the boss may well use a Nn for the employee.

The Nn (nickname) is the choice most often taken by Americans in all normal working and social situations. Every person has the right to ask or allow others to call him by any name he chooses to designate and as Americans strive to reach informal, comfortable relationships as quickly as possible the Nn is the choice. The Nn is usually based on, or derived from the FFN--usually the first syllable of the FFN.[5] The Nn is most frequently used of the three possible choices this paper examines. Even members of the immediate family will use the Nn (rather than the AfNn) in public situations.

The AfNn (affectionate nickname) is reserved for use between members of the immediate family and friends of long standing and/or with a more-than-usual degree of intimacy (including lovers). Its use often begins in childhood. In public situations (i.e. in front of outsiders) family members will often use the Nn as use of the AfNn is considered to be too strong a display of intimacy. Lovers often use the AfNn in public to declare their intimate status. Although the AfNn may be derived from the FFN, it is most often based on the Nn. Although it is used by the fewest number of people, the people who use the AfNn use it often and see the person often and thus its frequency of usage falls somewhere between more than that of the FFN and less than that of the Nn. Of the three names discussed, the AfNn is the one that undergoes the greatest change in usage as a result of the passage from childhood to adulthood, especially for males.

Perhaps the following chart will assist readers in visualizing some of the factors involved in the choice of name used.

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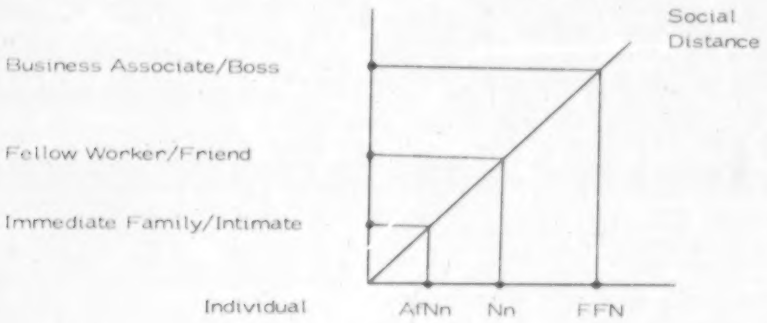
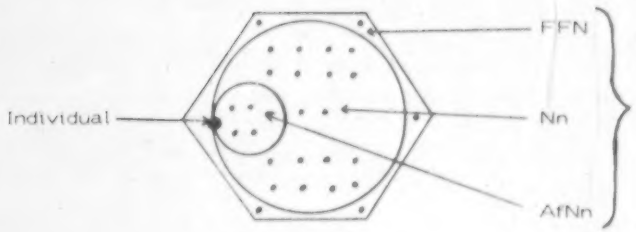
The 'x's indicate which name is normally used in association with the characteristics of personal relationship, e.g. when an acquaintanceship is rather formal and of no long period of time, the FFN, and possibly the Nn may be used but not the AfNn.

	FFN	Nn	AfNn	
Short Time	x	x		Long Time
Formal	x	x		Informal
Public		x	x	Private
Stranger		x	x	(Intimate) Friend
Unrelated		x	x	Related (blood or marriage)
Adult		x	x	Child
Male		x	x	Female

The characteristics listed above (out of the many possible) are of an informal nature and many cross-cut or influence others. It should also be noted that if we were including titles in this discussion, as they are the most formal and public forms of address, they would lie to the left of the FFN. The chart does illustrate that the Nn is the most often used name.

The following diagrams should help readers understand where the individual stands in relationship to frequency of name usage, number of persons who use the names, and the social distance involved as a result of the combination of which person uses which name.





Area equals frequency of use

• - represents the number of persons

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The FFN is the official, distant, "cool" name. The AfNn is the informal close, "hot" name. The Nn falls between the two extremes. Thus we can indicate and measure social and emotional distance between ourselves and others by the names we use for them and they use for us.

Either side can change those distances by changing the name they use. Salesmen in America try to get on a Nn basis with customers as quickly as possible. If a salesman, making house to house calls, tries to use the potential customer's Nn too soon (assuming he has never met the customer before) or if he tries to call the customer by an AfNn, the customer would probably judge the salesman as being "pushy," too aggressive, and refuse to buy the salesman's goods. Successful salesmen are usually skillful in knowing how to obtain permission to use the customer's Nn, and when. When a customer feels comfortable with the saleman on a Nn basis, he is more likely to trust him, believe what he says, and eventually buy from him.

Parents who normally use the AfNn for their children, find it difficult when scolding their children to use the AfNn and will instead use the FFN. The fiercer the scolding the more fully the names owned are used:

Jessie, no.
Jess don't.
Jessica don't do that.
Jessica Claire I've told you a hundred times not to do that.
Jessica Claire Van Buren stop that this instant!

In attempting to describe this usage system, no claims are being made as to its inviolability. Nothing prevents a person from calling a colleague by an AfNn rather than a Nn in the same sense that the phonology of English prevents one from saying [k^h ae tʃ]. There are also times and places when a spouse will not address his partner with the normally used AfNn. The claim is being made that all such changes in usage are made with the general system as a reference point and, aside from individual variations, are culturally and socially rooted--which is not to take away from the regularity of that usage. I have just given one example of interim usage, and other examples of variations based on economic and ethnic groups will be discussed later.

Before turning to some data, I'd like to mention a major difficulty in dealing with American names that makes research complicated[2] although that same element may point to a possible explanation as to why these names carry such a burden. The problem is that one cannot always be sure that the matchings and pairings of names that one uses are universally accurate or historically correct due to the tremendous variety of cultures and languages that serve as resources for the names that Americans use.

Just the quickest glance at a telephone book of any resonably good-sized American town will tell the reader something about the extent and nature of this problem as well as something about the composition of the population, and their antecedents, that is listed therein. In addition to the usual Joneses, we find Smiths, Millers, Carpenters, Waggoners, Plumbers, Barbers, Rivers, Lakes, Woods, Forests, Hills, Valleys, Golds, Silvers, Stones and Mudds (i.e. family names based on occupation, geographical locations, and elements of nature).

We will also find many names that give more than a hint of their national origins, for instance: by prefex, O'Neil, McCormick, MacDougal, DiGiralamo, DeSpain, DuPont, Van Buren, San Antonio, St. Clair; by suffix, Swensen, Steinmetz, Einstein, Kowalki, Vandenberg, Hanson, Ballantine, Sikorsky, Koganovitch, Banacek, and by just plain stems (that are a bit exotic by European-oriented American standards) such as Fujii, Harada, Park, Pak, Chan, Jeng, Diem, Sajorno, Natividad, Ahmad, Srinivasan, Tawilermang, etc. All of these Family, or last names, are just samples of the full list available. Furthermore, lists of names don't indicate the number of people who have altered, simplified, or completely changed their original name in ways that would make them more "American." All of these names bear eloquent witness to the validity of

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American's boast of being the world's melting pot. Unfortunately that same melding process has tended to blur the linguistic and cultural processes that have occurred historically, i.e. over time, that shape the ways people name their children, thus depriving the researcher of much valuable information. However, the uncertainty as to which cultural or linguistic process was involved in assigning the FFN does not detract from my thesis as to how the name(s) are used once assigned, and the wide variety of family names may be a factor in focussing attention and importance on the use of the FFN and its two derivatives. Other cultures and languages, while not untouched by outside influences, do have more clearly articulated systems for choosing FFN's and greater historical stability lends more importance to the use of family names.

Being aware of the uncertainty of the diachronic facts, I am forced to deal with the present, or synchronic, situation as much as possible. Therefore, the data in this paper is based, in the main, on my own experience as a native speaker of American English, and I will not use names or combinations of names that I, or my friends and colleagues, cannot attest to having seen or heard in actual use. Any errors in fact or judgment are entirely my own and their speedy correction by others will be appreciated. All such corrections will be gains for those who are really interested in the American way with names.

Below is a list (List A) of some male American names in common use today that display the full, regular range of FFN, Nn and AfNn.

LIST A

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Abraham	Abe	Abie
Albert	Al	Albie
Alfred	Alf	Alfie
Allen	Al	Allie
Archibald	Arch	Archie
Arnold	Arn	Arnie
Arthur	Art	Artie
Benjamin	Ben	Bennie
Bernard	Bern	Bernie
Bertram	Bert	Bertie
Christopher	Chris	Chrissy
Clifford	Cliff	Cliffy
Daniel	Dan	Danny
David	Dave	Davey
Dennis	Den	Denny
Donald	Don	Donnie
Douglas	Doug	Dougie
Edwin	Ed	Eddie
Eric	Rick	Ricky
Ernest	Ern	Ernie
Ferdinand	Ferd	Ferdy
Francis	Fran	Franny
Franklin	Frank	Frankie
Frederick	Fred	Freddy
Gerold	Ger	Gerry
Gibson	Gib	Gibby
Gilbert	Gil	Gilly
Henry	Hen	Henny
Herbert	Herb	Herbie
Herman	Herm	Hermie
Isaac	Ike	Ikey
Isadore	Iz	Izzy
Jacob	Jake	Jakey
Jeremiah	Jer	Jerry
Joseph	Joe	Joey
Julius	Jule	Juley
Kenneth	Ken	Kenny
Lawrence	Lar	Larry
Leonard	Len	Lenny
Louis	Lou	Louey
Lucas	Luke	Lukey
Luther	Lute	Lutey
Martin	Mart	Marty
Matthew	Matt	Matty
Maxwell	Max	Maxey
Milton	Milt	Milty
Mortimer	Mort	Morty

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List A Continued . . .

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Nathaniel	Nat	Natty
Nelson	Nels	Nelly
Nicolas	Nick	Nicky
Obert	Ob	Obbie
Oliver	Ol	Ollie
Orrin	Or	Orrie
Orville	Orv	Orvie
Percival	Pers	Percy
Peter	Pete	Petey
Raphael	Ralph	Raiphy
Rodney	Rod	Roddy
Roland	Rol	Rolly
Ronald	Ron	Ronnie
Samuel	Sam	Sammy
Sheldon	Shel	Shelly
Solomon	Sol	Solly
Stephen	Steve	Stevey
Terrence	Ter	Terry
Theodore	Ted	Teddy
Thomas	Tom	Tommy
Timothy	Tim	Timmy
Vernon	Vern	Vernie
Vincent	Vin	Vinnie
Walter	Walt	Wally
Willard	Will	Willy
Woodrow	Wood	Woody

List A demonstrates that, by and large, Nn's are derived from the first syllable of the FFN, as I claimed earlier (p.68). It is possible for a Nn to come from a syllable other than the first, for example: Ham from Abraham. But I have never heard Len from Allen even though Len is a Nn (from Leonard). I wouldn't place Abraham in List A because I have never heard *Hammy but there are some examples (List B) of full sets based on syllables other than the first of the FFN.

LIST B

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Anthony	Ton	Tony
Alfred	Fred	Freddy

but we are more likely to find the following,

Andrew	Drew	Andy
Howard	Ward	Howie
Rudolph	Dolph	Rudy

i.e., the second syllable is used to fill the Nn blank. *Rude and *An or *And seem to be inappropriate names in English.[8] These are also good examples of the pressure that exists to fill a gap in the system (see further discussion from p. 78).

One factor here that would work towards leaving a concept unlabelled would be the femininess of the name Ann. No boy or man would want to be nicknamed Ann. The popular song "A Boy Named Sue" sung by Johnny Cash is, in part, the story of how a young man strikes his own father in retaliation for being given such an unmasculine name.

List A is distinguished by its completeness as well as by its regularity. In contrast, there are names from which neither a Nn nor an AfNn can be derived, e.g., Ichabod, Kyle, Keith, Owen, Guinn, Glen, Quequeeg, Quirt, Vesper, Uriah, Uriel, Zoltan, etc.

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Other names (List C) apparently have a Nn but not an AfNn.

LIST C

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Alexander	Alex		Quentin	Quent	
Barton	Bart		Preston	Pres	
Calvin	Cal		Russell	Russ	
Curtis	Curt		Sidney	Sid	
Ezekial	Zeke		Thaddeus	Tad	
Gregory	Greg		Valentine	Val	
Kimberly	Kim		Victor	Vic	
Lester	Les		Virgil	Virg	
Melvin	Mel		Webley	Web	
Phillip	Phil		Yancey	Yance	

There is a smaller number of names (List D) that have an AfNn but no Nn.

LIST D

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Bruce		Brucie	Lon		Lonnie
George		Georgie	Oscar		Ossie
Jesse		Jessie	Paul		Paulie

I will discuss later some of the methods used to fill the blanks in List C and D but for now I would like to continue with my thesis that this is a regular process even in cases where the data is of an unusual nature relative to that contained in List A. To restate the process then, the Nn is derived from the FFN--usually the first syllable of the FFN. The AfNn is then usually derived from the Nn by simply adding an [ɪ] sound (spelled either with a y or an ie) to the Nn. In technical linguistic terms this process would be described with redundancy rules.[9] The regularity of this process is also exhibited in cases where the FFN has two or more Nn's (List E).

LIST E

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Albert	Al	Allie	Richard	Rich	Richy
	Bert	Bertie		Dick	Dicky
				Rick	Ricky
Benjamin	Ben	Bennie	Robert	Rob	Robby
	Benj	Benjie		Bob[10]	Bobby
Charles	Chaz	Charlie	William	Will	Willy
	Chuck	Chuckie		Bill	Billy
Jonathon	John	Johnny			
	Jack	Jackie			
Michael	Mike	Mikey			
	Mick	Mickey			

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There is also regularity in cases (List F) where two or more FFN's have only one Nn and AfNn set.

LIST F

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Clifton Clifford	Cliff	Cliffy	Kenneth Kendall	Ken	Kenny
Edgar Edmund Edward	Ed	Eddie	Lucas Lucius	Luke	Lukey
Jeremiah Jeremy Jeris Jerome	Jer	Jerry	William Willard	Will	Willy

I think the data in List E is self explanatory but that list F could use a word as to why I think it illustrates the regularity of the process. In American Southern Dialects, just as there are lexical and phonological differences from standard or Great Mid-Western American English, name usage varies from the norms being described in this paper. Names (FFN's, Nn's, and AfNn's) are often doubles (Mary Jo, Billy Jack) and sometimes ambiguous as to the sex of the bearer (Billie Jo, Terry Lu). Most importantly for my point is the existence of names like Bill T, Tom B, and John B. Why, then, can't we use names like Ed G, Ed M, or Ed W to help disambiguate which FFN (Edgar, Edmund, or Edward) we are referring to when we use either Ed or Eddie? My answer is that, at least in this instance, the overall regularity of the system I am describing is more important than referential clarity. I have heard Edward G. Robinson (movie actor) referred to as "Eddie G," but I have never heard any Edward called Ed or Eddie W meaning the Ed or Eddie whose FFN is Edward (not Edmund or Edgar).

Another variation of name usage that still fits the pattern of regularity being discussed is the one where the word for the Nn and the AfNn is the same and therefore ambiguous as to which social distance (or meaning) is being shown (List G). We would expect that other names will be used to dis-ambiguate when the social situation demands it and a common method that is used will be discussed later in the paper.[11]

LIST G

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
John	J/Jay(?)	J/Jay(?)	Raymond	Ray(?)	Ray(?)
Leonard	Leo(?)	Leo(?)	Simon	Si(?)	Si(?)
Leroy	Roy(?)	Roy(?)			
Leroy Leander Leland Lemore	Lee(?)	Lee(?)			

Both List F and G illustrate why we must take the FFN as the base form from which the Nn and the AfNn may be derived even though, as List T will show, some Nn-AfNn pairs do not have an actual FFN base and despite the fact that, in terms of frequency of usage, both the Nn and the AfNn stand higher than the FFN, i.e., we cannot determine from Lee,

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Ed, or Jerry what the FFN is in any specific instance. However, even the non-native speaker of English should be able to arrive at the Nn and the AfNn of names he has never heard before if the FFN is drawn from Lists A, C, F, and G. Given Samuel, Bertram, and Gregory he should have no difficulty in producing Sam, Bert, and Greg. As he would not normally be in situations or relationships requiring the use of AfNn's he would be saved the embarrassment of trying to say *Greggie, but would recognize Sammy and Bertie if and when he heard them being used.

Although I have used only male names to this point, most of what I have said applies to female names, too (List H). I shall explain the reason why I have presented them separately later.

LIST H

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Abigail	Ab	Abby
Barbara	Barb	Barbie
Bernice	Bern	Bernie
Christine	Chris	Chrissy
Clarabelle	Clar	Clary/ Clara
Deborah	Deb	Debbie
Dorothy	Dot	Dottie
Eleanor	El	Ellie
Elsa	Els	Elsie
Evelyn	Ev	Evie
Flora	Flor	Flory
Florence	Flos	Flossy
Frances	Fran	Francy
Geraldine	Ger	Gerry
Gertrude	Gert	Gertie
Helen	Nell	Nellie
Irene	Rene	Renie
Janet	Jane	Janey
Jeanette	Jean	Jeanie
Josephine	Jo	Josey
Katherine	Kate	Katy
Lavinia	Vin	Vinnie
Lititia	Let	Letty
Lucille	Lu	Lucy
Madelaine	Mad	Maddy
Marjorie	Marge	Margie
Martha	Marth	Marthy
Nancy	Nan	Nannie
Nicole	Nic	Nickie
Olive	Ol	Ollie
Pamela	Pam	Pammy
Penelope	Pen	Penny
Priscilla	Priss	Prissy
Rebecca	Beck	Becky
Samantha	Sam	Sammy
Stephanie	Steph	Stephie
Susan	Sue	Suzy
Sylvia	Syl	Sylvie
Tamara	Tam	Tammy
Virginia	Virg	Virgie
Winifred	Win	Winnie

Although this list is not as fully fleshed as List A, I think it is sufficient to illustrate that the system of name usage is basically just as regular for female names as it is for male. Combining List A and H gives us an impressive display of the regularity of the system of name usage.

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The female names also match the male names in the types of exceptions to List A that exist, so corresponding to List B (Nn and AfNn derived from syllable other than first), we have

LIST I

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Elaine	Lane	Laney
Marilyn	Lyn	Lynnie

and

Althea	Al	Thea
Patricia	Trish	Patsy

Corresponding to List C (sets without an AfNn), we have

LIST J

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Cynthia	Cyn	
Hazel	Haz	
Valerie	Val	

Corresponding to List D (sets without a Nn), we have

LIST K

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Alyce		Allie
Amanda		Mandy
Ann		Annie
Bonita		Bonnie
Candace		Candy
Gloria		Glory
Ida		Idy
Judith		Judy
Marcella		Marcy
Veronica		Ronny

Corresponding to List E (two or more Nn's and AfNn's from single FFN), we have

LIST L

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Barbara	Barb	Barby
	Babs	Babsie
Cassandra	Cass	Cassie
	Sandra	Sandy
Dorothy	Dor	Dorrie
	Dot	Dotty
Elizabeth	Liz	Lizzie
	Beth	Betty
	Bet	Betsy

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Margaret	Mag	Maggie
	Marg	Margie
	Meg	Meggie
	Peg	Peggy
Theresa	Ter	Terry
	Tess	Tessie
Virginia	Virg	Virgy
	Gin	Ginny

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Corresponding to List F (single/same Nn and AfNn from two or more FFN's), we have

LIST M

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Christina Christine	Chris	Chrissy
Rosemary Rosette Rosalie	Rose	Rosie

Corresponding to List G (uncertain if single form is Nn or AfNn), we have

LIST N

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Beatrice	Bea(?)	Bea(?)
Violet	Vi(?)	Vi(?)

And, of course, there are female names that apparently cannot act as a base for Nn's or AfNn's e.g., Brenda, Charity, Celeste, Chloe, Esther, Faith, Hope, Una, etc.

As there is so much correspondence between the systematic uses of male and female names, the reader might well wonder why I bother to separate them. First, it is my feeling that all languages will exhibit a male-female distinction in names and therefore the ways a particular language makes those distinctions may give us clues as to the nature of the culture that shapes that usage to its own particular ends, or in a weaker claim, may at least reflect some of that culture's current values.

In the course of gathering and analyzing the data for this paper (especially the names for List C and J, and D and K) I began to feel that male names (List O) tended to lack an AfNn (also see List C),

LIST O

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Carlton	Carl		Preston	Pres	
Chadwick	Chad		Quenton	Quent	
Delbert	Del		Roger	Rog	
Everett	Ev		Shepard	Shep	
Harold	Hal		Sydney	Syd	
Jeffrey	Jeff		Sylvester	Syl	
Katsuo	Katz		Thadeous	Tad	
Kazuyo	Kaz		Walter	Walt	
Lester	Les		Wesley	Wes	
Mitsuo	Mits		Whitney	Whit	
Phillip	Phil		Zachary	Zack	

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and female names (List P) tended to lack a Nn (also see List K).

LIST P

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Allyce		Allie	Grace		Gracie
Ann		Annie	Hedda		Hedy
Andrea		Drea	Judith		Judy
Amanda		Mandy	Joan		Joanie
Beatrice		Bea	Gloria		Glory
Bridget		Birdy	Marcella		Marcy
Carlotta		Lottie	Ruth		Ruthie
Candace		Candy	Veronica		Ronny
Edith		Edie			

In addition, it was difficult to find male names that had an AfNn but no Nn, as in List D (and for some of those names, e.g. Mark--Ø--Markie, Gene--Ø--*Genie, as the AfNn is too babyish or feminine, if one would like to indicate a closer relationship than use of FFN would indicate, the following is possible Mark--Marko--Ø, Gene--Geno--Ø). There also seemed to be fewer female names with a Nn and no AfNn, as in List J. I take this to be evidence of a male connotation for the Nn and a female connotation for the AfNn. The evidence in Lists O and P in itself is not very conclusive. However, there are other pieces of evidence pointing to the same conclusion but, before discussing some of the more concrete examples, I would first like to briefly mention one thing that is difficult to demonstrate. That is: to the best of my knowledge and experience, for men who lack the AfNn, as in Lists C and O, there doesn't seem to be the same pressure to fill the gap as there is for men with names that lack a Nn, as in List D, to fill that gap.

In the case of female names the reverse is true. Women with names which lack a Nn, as in Lists K and P, do not seem to resort to other sources to fill the gap with the same sense of urgency as those women who, as in List J, because they lack an AfNn do use other sources to fill that gap.

A more substantial piece of evidence in support of the claim that the Nn has a masculine connotation and the AfNn has a feminine connotation, especially for adults, is the observation that men prefer (often insist upon) being called by their Nn by the general population around them even in situations that would apparently be better served by use of either the FFN or the AfNn. On the other hand, women are usually addressed by the more intimate AfNn by the general population in any but the most general and quite public situations.[12] An example that rather neatly sums up both situations can be obtained from the time when John F. Kennedy was President of the United States, the highest public office in America. The general public and all the news media could and often did call the President Jack (never Jackie) and the President's wife Jackie (never Jac, the Nn for Jacqueline).

In order to make my next point in support of the claim for a relationship between masculine-Nn and feminine-AfNn, I would like to list and examine some male/female "mirror image" names.

LIST Q

FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)	FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)
Albert	Alberta	Augustus	Augusta
Alexander	Alexandra	Benedict	Benedicta
Alfred	Alfreda	Bernard	Bernadine
Andrew	Andrea	Cecil	Cecily
Anthony	Antonia	Charles	Charlene

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List Q Continued . . .

FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)	FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)
Christian	Christiana	Julius	Julia
Claude	Claudette	Justin	Justina
Clement	Clementine	Leon	Leona
Dennis	Denise	Louis	Louisa
Edwin	Edwina	Lucius	Lucia
Eric	Erica	Marcellus	Marcella
Ernest	Ernestine	Michael	Michelle
Eugene	Eugenia	Nicolas	Nicole
Francis	Frances	Oliver	Olivia
Gabriel	Gabriella	Patrick	Patricia
George	Georgina	Paul	Paula
Gerald	Geraldine	Regis	Regina
Glen	Glenna	Robert	Roberta
Harry	Harriet	Stephen	Stephanie
Henry	Henrietta	Theodore	Theodora
Isadore	Isadora	Thomas	Thomasina
Jess	Jessica	Victor	Victoria
Joseph	Josephine	Wayne	Waynette
Juan	Juanita	Wilhelm	Wilhelmina

If we examine the endings of the names in List Q we can see that whereas most of the female names end either in a vowel (usually /a/) or with a diminutive suffix (-ine, -ina, -ette, -etta) the corresponding male names almost all end in a consonant. Now if the reader will accept the generalization that female names tend to be of the shape NAME ROOT + V/Diminutive Suffix and NAME ROOT + C is the normal shape of the male name, then by looking back through all the lists he will see that most AfNn's end in a V and most Nn's end in a C for both male and female names.

By combining the facts contained in List Q and the uses and pressures exhibited by Lists O and P, I am led to the conclusion that the Nn has the connotation, or contains the element, "masculine" and the AfNn has the connotation, or contains the element, "feminine".[13]

As further evidence in support of both of my major arguments to this point, it is interesting to note that even the terms (i.e. either the name of the relationship or the name of the persons with whom the relationship is held) used within the family share the paradigm of FFN, Nn, AfNn and exhibit the same usage patterns and connotations as do regular proper names (List R). Note, however, the larger number of Nn's on the male side and the lack of "*unkie" for uncle although it is phonologically possible in English as in hunky dory, Bunky, funky, drunkie, etc.

LIST R

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn	FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	MALE			FEMALE	
brother			sister		
Bubber	Bub	Bubby	Sister	Sis	Sissy[14]
Budder	Bud	Buddy			
Brallah	Brah[15]		daughter		
son				Doll	Dolly
	Son	Sonny			

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List R Continued . . .

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	MALE	
father Father	Dad Pap Paw Pop Pa	Daddy Pappy
grandfather Grandfather	Gramp Gramps Grandpop Grandpaw Grandpap Grandpa	Grandpappy
uncle Uncle	Unk	

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	FEMALE	
mother Mother	Mom Ma	Mommy Mama
grandmother Grandmother	Gram Grandma	Grammy Granny
aunt Aunt		Auntie

Usually boys start calling their father Dad, not Daddy, before they themselves are addressed by their Nn in the home. However, it is not unusual for women to continue using Daddy when they themselves are mothers and to be called by a variety of AfNn's in return.

Some of those AfNn's may be drawn from the following list of general terms of endearment which are used normally only between parents and children or between adult members of the opposite sex (List S).

LIST S

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
lover Lover	Love	Lovey
sweetheart Sweetheart	Sweet Sweets	Sweetie
a dear one Dearheart Dearone Dearest	Dear	Dearie
	Babe Hon	Baby Honey

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
beautiful Beautiful	Beaut	Beauty
rough affectionate	Snooks Toots	Snookie Tootsie
kitten Kitten	Kit	Kitty
cat Puss-in-boots	Puss	Pussy

The way names in List S are used is an especially good example of the masculine-feminine split between Nn and AfNn i.e., he will call her Honey and she will call him Hon. The commercial candy bar named after him is still called a Baby Ruth, but no one ever

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called the baseball player Babe Ruth, Baby. Dearie has been a euphemistic name for male homosexuals long enough now that, even when used otherwise, the connotation of sarcasm may override all other considerations.

Reminding the reader that I have already pointed out that nothing forces people to use names the way I am claiming they are used (e.g. individual family usage might disagree with List S), I think it is fair to assume that I have established the masculine connotation of Nn's and the feminine connotation of AfNn's via the arguments related to Lists O through R. My assignment and prediction for the names in List G (List G's FFN has a shape that could be either a Nn or an AfNn) then must be as follows: the shape in question must be a Nn and the gap that is to be filled is the AfNn gap and therefore when we find men named Ray, Lee, Leo, Si, etc., we will usually find that if they have an AfNn (remember men don't need it that much) it may be a bit unusual. The reverse will be true for women (List N).

Now I'd like to turn to another aspect of the FFN, Nn, and AfNn paradigm namely, the order and circumstances in which they are acquired in order to identify another element that influences the uses of Nn and AfNn in particular.[16] I will try to show that just as the Nn is distinguished by the presence of the element "masculine," so is the AfNn distinguished by the element of "childishness."

Although it is the FFN that goes on the birth certificate, it is some form of AfNn that is used from birth in most cases. A baby is called Baby, Honey, Sweetie, Sonny, Sissy, Dolly, etc. until the more normal AfNn, based on the FFN, comes into general usage and recognition. Starting school is often the time when this occurs because the child is registered by FFN--from which the AfNn is derived.

During the course of the school years, girls may change names from time to time in play or in search of self autonomy but this process for boys is much more varied and serious an event and the dropping of an AfNn for the Nn may often amount to a rite of passage in terms of the ritual and importance attached to it.[17] In any case, major cultural group or sub-cultural group, the school-year-age process of changing names is more important to the boys than to the girls because girls normally retain the AfNn whereas the boys normally cannot become adults without using the Nn.

When an American boy is in his school years he may take, or be given by his peer group, a variety of Nn's and/or AfNn's (some of which he may even like) that are based on personal or physical characteristics real or imagined. These names are much more difficult to understand because they usually have no FFN.

LIST T

FFN or characteristic	Nn	AfNn	FFN or characteristic	Nn	AfNn
dumb	Boob	Booby	tough	Knucks	Knucksie
Ø	Buck	Bucky	crazy	Loon	Looney
crazy	Bugs	Bugsie	Ø	Mack	Mackie
Ø	Bunk	Bunkie	crazy	Nuts	Nutsie
Ø	Butch	Butchie	crazy	Nut	Nutty
Ø	Buzz	Buzzy	red haired	Red	Reddy
Ø	Case	Casey	red haired	Reds	Redsie
daft	Daff	Daffy	touch	Rock	Rocky
crazy	Dizz	Dizzy	smelly/ offensive	Stinker	Stinky
Ø	Flake	Flakey	Ø	Skip	Skippy
bumbler	Goof	Goofy			
greenhorn	Green	Greenie			
horse rider/ athlete	Jock	Jockey			

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There are many more colorful names of this type but they don't exhibit the same regularity of those listed in I although some are clearly of a Nn-AfNn type relationship e.g., Flash, Speedy, Lightning, Turtle, Shorty, Stretch, Chief, Cannonball, Duke, Peaches, King, Horse, Bumper-Bump, Bing-Bingle, Satch-Satchmo, Carrottop, Whitey, Blacky, Blue, Bird, etc.

Another irregular class of rather colorful names, which I will designate "linked names" is a rather small group that is based on a semantic linking of a Nn with the last name. Examples would include Dusty Rhodes (a pun on dusty roads), Mule Skinner (a mule skinner was a mule driver), Skin Flint (a skin flint is a miser, a person who holds on to his money), etc.

The normal American adult male considers these names, as well as the more prosaic, regular AfNn's, to be childish. In his normal progress from boyhood to manhood he sheds them--usually in his teens and early twenties. It may be concurrent with his departure from home to go to college or to join the military service or upon his securing a permanent job. In any event the AfNn is gone and the Nn replaces it in normal usage by the time of his marriage. If no real physical separation from his home takes place, it often requires a struggle on his part to get his mother to call him by his Nn in front of his friends and he probably can never get his grandmother to do so. His father and grandfather will be much more helpful in the changing process and may even force the change on the boy before he feels too much peer group pressure to do so. Brothers and sisters will continue to use the AfNn but they will do it consciously knowing that it embarrasses "big brother" to call him by his "baby name."

Once the boy considers himself an adult, independent of parents and siblings, he will allow only very close, intimate friends to use his AfNn and even then usually only in situations where friendly joking and teasing is appropriate. In most relationships he will not reveal what his AfNn is. If his FFN is of a type from which the AfNn can be predicted and others try to use it, he will gently but firmly correct the usage to what he considers the proper choice relative to the social distance involved. Continued use of the AfNn by another after such correction is considered insulting behavior. The degree of the insult and therefore the severity of his response will depend on his temper, his mood of the moment, his judgment of the relative social position and intent of the insulter, and a host of other considerations including any paralanguage factor the insulter might use such as a lisp. The insult is a powerful one if used deliberately because one has simultaneously questioned his masculinity and maturity. I would strongly recommend that foreign speakers of English avoid addressing adult males by the AfNn unless specifically requested to do so by the person himself--and try to find out which linguistic mechanism or cultural value is being expressed by such a request.

There are certain areas of American cultural life where this change does not take place. For example, athletes may delay the change or, especially if they become professionals, not make the change at all. Some examples from baseball would be Nelly Fox, Willie Mays, and Tommy Davis. In football Jimmy Brown, Rosey Grier, and Woody Hayes. In basketball Casey Jones, Richie Guerin, and Johnny Wooden. In fact Hays and Wooden are well-known coaches and so will probably never stop using the AfNn publicly. Even the legendary, rock-hard taskmaster Vince Lombardi was called Vinnie more often than the normal adult male will accept.

Another example of an occupational group which deviates from the normal usage would be those who are in show business of one kind or another. Frankie Sinatra, "Uncle Milty" Berle, Sammy Davis, Shelley Berman, Shecky Green, Charley (Bird) Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, etc., kept on using AfNn's they acquired in their teens partly because the nature of their adult occupation allows or demands it and partly because the general population does not consider the occupation to be a normal adult one.

A final example would be the names that gangsters, gamblers, and other notorious types use or, more likely, are called, especially in newspaper stories, movies, and paperback books. Bugsie Seigel, Arnie Rothstein, Machine Gun Kelly, and Moe the Gimp

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(he walked with a limp) are some examples from the national scene. In Hawaii at this time, recent criminal trials have been filled with men named Nappy, Biggie, etc., usually reported in single quotes along with their full names in newspaper accounts of the proceedings.

That these occupations are exceptional in relation to name usage is revealed when an individual moves out of them into a more conventional career. Football star, Jimmy Brown, becomes movie actor and businessman Jim Brown. Ronnie Reagan, movie idol for millions of American women, becomes Ronald Reagan governor of California. Frankie Sinatra, singing sensation who makes all the girls swoon, becomes Frank when he associates with (now ex) Vice-President Agnew. In all these cases, and in many more not cited here, the AfNn, which had served as a badge proclaiming their unusual status, is dropped and the Nn, or even the FFN, is adopted for general usage.

Male political figures are especially careful to avoid being pinned publicly with AfNn's. They feel the connotation of childishness will hurt them with the voters. Women are faced with a dilemma in politics. If they use the normal AfNn will the voters react unfavorably to the childish connotation? On the other hand, if they use a Nn they are apt to be accused of acting too mannish. The following list (List U) should illustrate my point about male politicians; notice that in some cases initials are thought to be a good compromise between high status (formality) and the need to be well known (informality).

LIST U

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Franklin	FDR	*Frankie
Dwight	Ike	*Ikey/Dwighty
John	Jack/JFK	*Jackie/Johnny
Lyndon	LBJ	*Lynnie
Richard	Dick	*Dicky
Spiro	Ted	*Teddy

I left out President Truman's name because it is an interesting case. Normally, Harry would be an AfNn but it was, in fact, his FFN and therefore most Americans accepted it as a proper Nn i.e. as being neither too formal nor too childish. Nevertheless he was often pictured as the "underdog" and no. taken too seriously by his opponents prior to his famous upset victory.

President Nixon's enemies have tried to tag him with the name "Tricky Dicky" from time to time but it has never become popular. Ex-vice-president Agnew's friends called him Ted (his middle name is Theodore) but not the general public. His first name was the source of many jokes, most of them unkind.

This brings to a close that portion of the paper where I try to set out the inventory of names used in American English and the way they are used. This last section has tried to examine some of the elements that are relevant to those uses, particularly how masculinity and maturity mark the Nn as separate from the AfNn.

In those cases where a FFN does not provide a Nn for a man or an AfNn for a woman, what devices or sources are available to fill the gaps?

One of the easiest stratagems is to use the middle name. A young man named Wade Bruce Lindsey has the FFN Wade from which neither Nn nor AfNn can be derived. His friends use either Wade or Bruce as his Nn but his mother uses Brucie for the AfNn. Spiro Theodore Agnew uses Ted as his Nn, but not publicly--why?

Initials may be used as a Nn in at least three possible combinations. LBJ, for Lyndon Baines Johnson, used the initials of all of his names. Others use initials of

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first and middle names as in TJ Smith or BJ Sams. The third possibility is most often found in female names where the FFN can consist of two names as in MaryJane Lowe Williams--MJ would be used for the Nn or the AfNn (remembering the discussion relating to List G); most likely the latter for females.

The last name, in whole or in part, may also be used as a source for a needed Nn or AfNn.

LIST V

Last Name	Nn	AfNn	Last Name	Nn	AfNn
Brislin	Briz	*Brizzie	MacDougal McGinnis	Mac	Mackie
Kowalski Sikorski	Ski (if male)	Ski (if female)	Van Dusen Van Hooten	Van	*Vannie

The last name may also furnish a Nn or AfNn if it is common enough (Smitty, Jonesy) or if it happens to be the same as a FFN (Keith James--Jim, Ichabod Thomas--Tom, Warren Spahn--Spahnnie (a professional baseball pitcher)).

Changing attitudes have lessened the likelihood of using the following method but it is still used. One's family nationality, either personally known or revealed by the family name can serve as the base for the Nn and/or the AfNn.

LIST W

Nationality	Nn	AfNn
Chinese	Chink	Chinee
Dutch	Dutch	Dutchie
French	French	Frenchie
Irish	Irish	*Irishie
Japan/Nippon	Jap/Nip	*Jappie/Nippie
Polish	Polack	*Polackie
Portuguese	Portuguese	Portagee
Russian	Russ	Ruskie
Scottish	Scot	Scottie
Spanish	Spanish	*Spainie
Swedish	Swede	*Swedie

It is rather ironic that some of these names, which fit so nicely into the overall system--in fact in the best slot, should have such "bad" meanings today. The different between Swede and Scottie compared to Jap and Chinee is a peculiar glimpse into American history over the last half century.

I have tried to describe and analyze the inventory and usage of American names. Despite the many complexities involved it does seem to be a quite regular, systematic matter. Because this is true, some possible subjects for further study and possible pedagogical use come logically to mind.

First, as it is a system, it can be taught to and learned by non-native speakers of English. It could be a true case of language and culture learning.

Second, it would seem that studies of the use of names in other cultures for comparative purposes might be in order. What little knowledge I possess of Japanese names leads me to believe that many of the same elements described in this paper exist

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in Japanese name usage, e.g. there are clear differences between a large number of male and female names. Some of the differences are phonologically realized and others are similar to those in L' t Q on page 78. In addition to the similarities it might be interesting to see what cultural values might be reflected by the differences in name usages. I wonder if the equivalent of Yank-Yankee in Japanese is "bad?"

Students of literature and drama may find some interesting insights into the conscious and unconscious motivations for the names authors give their characters. For example, in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman, why is the adult, male, father of two sons, typical American named Willy Loman?

A study of titles to indicate status and generational location is in order. I suspect that it may be an extension of the present paper.[18]

Finally, and in keeping with the non-technical nature of this paper, I'd like to suggest that psychologists might find a knowledge of the American way with names helpful in their work.

By the way, don't ask me what the H stands for in my name; just call me Van.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Biological Foundations of Language, E.H. Lenneberg, 1967, John Wiley & Sons (pp 343/4). A very readable book that is as useful for the language teacher as it is for the linguist.

[2]Considerations of length and focus of the paper apply here. Titles as forms of address are important and they will be referred to occasionally, but are a proper subject of study in themselves, in addition to the usual sections about their use in Business English handbooks written by McCrimmon and others.

[3]See Starosta reference in footnote #9.

[4]Middle names are often family names of the mother's father or of the grandfathers from either side.

[5]In relation to this fact it is interesting to note how little is consciously known by native speakers about their widely known (i.e. subconsciously) use of names. See reference in footnote #17, and Heller, L., and Macris, J. A typology of shortening devices. American Speech, 1968, 43, 201-208, for an examination of the various types of shortening devices. There are six types: (1) acronyms, which use the initial letters of a word; (2) mesonyms, which use the medial part (e.g., "Liza" for "Elizabeth"); (3) ouronyms, the tails of the subject words (e.g., "Beth" for "Elizabeth"); (4) acromesonyms, the initial plus the medial letters, such as "T.V."; (5) acrouronyms, which use the initial and tail letters in a blend which may be typified by "brunch"; and (6) mesouronyms, medial plus tail combinations which produce words like "Lizabeth". Two patterns of medium shortened words are also classified: (1) shortening by phonology, such as "ad" "Liza" and "Beth"; and (2) orthographological shortenings. In addition, shortenings are divided into two classifications according to the hierarchy affected: (1) monolectic (one word), such as "ad" and (2) polylectic (more than one word, a phrase), exemplified by "brunch". Finally, three ways of indicating abbreviation are classified: (1) no mark as is the case for "he is" (for /hiz/); (2) abbreviation points (for orthographic..l shortenings only), as in C.O. D.; and (3) apostrophes (usually the orthographical marks reflecting the earlier phonological shortenings), for example "o'clock".

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[6]Another difficulty is that the section on names in dictionaries is another example of native speaker ignorance, on a conscious level, of name usage. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary (second edition, 1970; pp 2129 + 160) contains two sections of names and one section on terms of address but not one word on name usage.

[7]I am not being jingoistic, just careful not to mislead anyone into thinking that what I will describe will fit the English of Great Britain, Australia, etc.

[8]* means a name that doesn't exist in the sense I have never heard it used.

[9]For those who are interested, one can begin with Chomsky, N. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965, pp. 164ff. For fuller and more interesting detail see Staroste, S. "Some Lexical Redundancy Rules for English Nouns." Glossa, 1971, 2.

[10]I have heard the back formation *Bobert used jokingly.

[11]See discussion on p. 81 ff.

[12]Women whose names are of the List H type, i.e., with all three forms, and who are generally addressed by their AfNn will often be called by their Nn by intimates--a reversal of the normal situation. In a backhand way, this supports my claim that the three basic degrees of social distance do exist and three names are needed to identify/label them. This reversal may also occur with male names, e.g. Ton seems to me to be a more intimate name than Tony. Certainly men named Anthony are usually called Tony.

[13]Which would explain why we often find patterns like the following:
Victor Vic Ø Victoria Ø Vicky

[14]Sissy has such a strong connotation of cry-baby or weak person that it is rare for one to hear it used nowadays, even for girls. For adult males it is often used as a euphemism for homosexual. If it is used directly, to the male being addressed, it is an insult.

[15]This is a Hawaiian usage not generally known on the mainland United States.

[16]I am trying to make a distinction here between elements that are in a class (e.g. there are both masculine and feminine FFN's) and elements that by their presence or absence distinguish one class from another (e.g. Nn is distinguished from AfNn by the presence of the element, or extra-linguistic factor, masculine).

[17]See "Names, Graffitti, and Culture" in the April 1969 issue of Urban Review by Herbert Kohl.

[18]For example, lately I have noticed a rise in popularity of using, instead of the first name, middle initial, family/last name, a shift to first initial, full middle name and family/last name. Some people have always done this, for example E. Power Biggs, W. Nelson Francis, F. Scott Fitzgerald and W. Averill Harriman, but they were and are unusual men (I do wonder what their first names are). I'm not talking here about men trying to break the normal pattern as a way of calling attention to themselves, but a change in ordinary usage.

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DISPLAY RULES AND FACIAL AFFECTIVE BEHAVIOR: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

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In the course of interaction with our fellow man we all use the nonverbal channel for communication of various phenomena, both intentionally and unintentionally. Just as the semantic quality of the spoken language conveys information about the emotionality of the communication, the spoken language is accompanied by facial and bodily behavior which communicates the general affective state of the sender, his affective relationship to what he is saying, and illustrative underscoring of the semantic quality of the communication itself.[2] For example, a person might display anger while in the process of castigating another person, or he might show an angry face when he tells his wife about an argument with another person, or he might show--momentarily--an angry face when he uses the word "angry" in a conversation. Of course in a given interaction these three different affective messages may be used in any combination and sequence, and it is one task of the receiver to decode just what the display is representing.

The last fifty or so years have seen the accumulation of a large body of literature concerned with the facial and bodily behavior of emotion. Most of this work has been focused upon the individual as a unit, and aimed at specification of the facial musculatural configurations and physiological correlates of particular emotions; e.g., identifying the facial expression of anger. While many of the investigators have taken note of the communicative aspects of facial emotional behavior in the interactive context, comparatively little research has been carried out using an interactive group as the unit.

Another group of researchers has been involved with descriptions of social behavior and specification of rules of public conduct. This approach has used the group as the primary unit and has dealt with the individual only in so far as he is a member of the group; e.g., identifying how people behave at funerals. These researchers have acknowledged that facial behavior is one of several communicative media, but comparatively little use has been made of the existing literature on facial displays of emotion to bolster their theories of social interaction.

It seems logical that there is the need for an amalgamation of these two areas in order to understand better the nature of affective communication as it transpires in social interaction. Indeed, at the 1969 Long Island Conference on Nonverbal Behavior which included both students of individual facial expression and students of social interaction, Erving Goffman called for the unification of the two views. His position was that the study of the face without consideration of the situational proprieties was inappropriate

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because seldom does the face display an expression without the influence of the social environment being manifested. And of course, the converse argument could be made that the study of social interaction without consideration of the individual's expressive behavior is equally inappropriate in so far as expressive behavior is, in part, what the rules of public conduct regulate.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss and elaborate the concept of display rules, proposed by Ekman and Friesen (1969a), as a framework within which to study facial affective behavior as it occurs in social interaction. Briefly, the concept of display rules proposes that, although the specific facial expressions of emotion are universal, there are sets of culturally-determined rules governing the display of these expressions. Given the contingencies of the social context in which the emotion is experienced, display rules determine whether the emotion that is experienced is to be displayed, intensified, deintensified, masked by a display of another emotion, or neutralized.

Studies of Facial Displays of Emotion

In order to discuss facial affective behavior as it relates to the interpersonal interaction paradigm, a few studies will be reviewed which focus primarily upon the identification of the facial and bodily manifestations of emotion: establishment of whether or not emotion is displayed by the face and body, whether or not these emotions can be identified reliably by non-trained persons, descriptions of the morphology of the emotion displays, and the nature of the emotion-evoking stimuli. Both cross-cultural and developmental studies which have been applied to test hypotheses relevant to the species generality and maturation effects will be considered.[3]

Ekman & Friesen (1971), Plutchik (1962), Tomkins & McCarter (1964), Woodworth (1938), Nummenmaa (1964), and Boucher & Ekman (1965) are representative of studies which demonstrate that there is a set of facial configurations that judges will label with such terms as happy, sad, fear, anger, surprise, and disgust/contempt. Boucher (1969) showed that there is also a characteristic display for pain. Although pain is not generally considered to be an emotion, pain behavior appears to be subject to display rules.

Much of the past literature has dealt with facial affective behavior as if there were only basic or pure, or, as Tomkins calls them, "primary" affects. However, there is good evidence that these affects may appear in various combinations to form affect blends (Plutchik, 1962; Ekman & Friesen, 1969a; Boucher & Ekman, 1965; Tomkins & McCarter, 1964; and Nummenmaa, 1964). These blends may occur in a number of different ways; separate features of the face showing different affects, rapid succession of two or more affects, the whole face showing a blend which has its own characteristic label, and the same feature conveying two or more different messages.

Engel & Phillipszoon (1963), Osgood (1966), and Schlosberg (1941) have pursued Wundt's (1896) notion that there is a set of factorial dimensions which are adequate to describe an emotion-space, and that these dimensions serve in one fashion or another to relate various affects. Boucher & Ekman (1965) reported a replication of Schlosberg's work which raised a number of questions concerning that model and the dimensional approach. However, for the purposes of the present paper the elemental affect view is more readily applicable.

Darwin (1872) theorized that the emotional behavior in man was evolved from lower animals and proposed that there are, therefore, underlying similarities of facial affective displays across the many cultures of the world. Recent studies by Ekman, Sorenson & Friesen (1969), Ekman & Friesen (1971), Izard (1969) and Boucher (1973) confirm that many affect behaviors are not culture specific for either encoding or decoding. Using observers in New Guinea, South America, Japan, Borneo, and the United States, Ekman et al. found that the observers could readily identify the emotions shown on the photographs presented to them. Izard's and Boucher's results extend these findings across a wide group of cultures. Just reversing the process, when Ekman et al. had people from the

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above-mentioned cultures pose the emotions, the resulting photographs were quite like those of the United States subjects. Thus there is good evidence to support the theory that there are, in Ekman's terms, pan-cultural elements in facial displays of emotion.

That there are similarities of facial affective behavior in divergent cultures, including some cultures which have had minimal contact with European civilization, makes a learning-theory-only approach to emotion display hard to justify. And yet recent literature still contains statements such as: "The fact (that Japanese faces are confusing to Westerners) reminds us that facial expressions are not universal but learned behavior as part of a culture" (Ishii, 1973). LaBarre (1947) has been extensively cited as having established that there are too many differences in nonverbal behavior between various cultures for there to be any universal elements. He reports many examples of nonverbal behavior that have no counterpart in other cultures, or where the opposite meaning is used in one culture as opposed to another for the same gesture. But LaBarre, even though he titled his paper "The cultural basis of emotions and gestures" never differentiates between emotion display and gesture. Since much of the gestural behavior is related to language there is reason to expect that there would be cross-cultural differences in gestures. In fact, as Asch (1952) points out, LaBarre actually reports evidence for the universality of affective behavior in an example he cited to disprove such a theory: LaBarre asks an old American Indian lady where an object is, and she points to it with her lips. LaBarre stresses the point that he could not decode this common Indian gesture, but fails to note the significance of his being able to decode the contempt on her face as she gets the object for him.

In addition to those studies showing a certain degree of universality in affect display, there is a body of literature showing the display of at least some of the emotions at a very early age, and another related group of studies shows the facial behavior of blind children to be very similar to that of seeing children. Bridges (1932), Goodenough (1931), and Thompson (1941) all demonstrated that affective behavior is fairly well developed before one year of age, and Goodenough (1932), Freedman (1964), Thompson (1941) and Fulchur (1942) showed that adult-type affect displays are present in blind children. Social learning is obviously a factor in the ultimate development of an individual's affective repertoire, but the evidence seems to indicate that this learning is laid over a set of universal patterns of response to emotion-arousing stimuli.

Emotion and Social Interaction

Compared to the large amount of research reported on the nature of facial expression of emotion, relatively little work has been done on the role of these expressions in social interaction. Boucher and Friesen have both done studies on display rules, and these studies will be considered below under Suggestions for Research. One area which has received a certain degree of attention is the role of nonverbal communication in the psychiatric interview. For example, Scheflen (1963) Mahl (1966) and Kiritz (1972) have written on gesture and bodily behavior in psychotherapy, and Ekman and Friesen (1968) and Haggard and Isaacs (1966) have reported on studies of facial expression in psychotherapy. A second related area is the study of body space and seating behavior. To a large extent this interpersonal space literature is concerned with social rules very much like the display rule concept, except that the focus is upon more gross bodily behaviors, rather than the specific focus on facial affective behavior that is the concern of the display rule concept. This literature is reviewed in Brislin's paper elsewhere in this volume, and so will not be discussed here. A third area of study, quite related to the study of display rules, is the control of facial behavior in attempted deception. Representative studies in this area are those of Ekman and Friesen (1969b, 1974). While these studies are not concerned with identifying the social norms for the control of facial affective behavior, they do identify some of the control mechanisms used by people attempting to modify their facial behavior, and these control mechanisms are essential to the display rule concept. And finally, Goffman has commented (1959, 1961a, 1961b, 1963a, 1963b, 1967) on nonverbal behavior as a component of social interaction. For example, using the analogy of interpersonal behavior as theater, he writes:

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> Perhaps the focus of dramaturgical discipline is to be found in the management of one's face and voice. Here is the crucial test of one's ability as a performer. Actual affective response must be concealed and an appropriate affective response must be displayed. (1959, p.217)

Goffman has identified the problem which is of concern to the present paper, but he fails to give us any details of facial affect management. The theory to be outlined below is an attempt to structure the variables surrounding facial behavior in interaction.

The Display Rule Theory

Ekman and Friesen's (1969a) concept of display rules affords a way to structure the social forces which modulate the facial display of emotion. Display rules are defined as socially learned instructions that specify, for the persons in an interaction, which management technique is applied to which facial behavior and in which context.

The learning of display rules probably begins early in life as part of the socialization process, but this learning continues throughout the life of the individual. Goffman (1963a) has made much of the notion of etiquette as reflecting the socialization of an individual in society, and has therefore included numerous selections from Emily Post and the other etiquette books to illustrate the rules of public behavior. Goffman makes the point that by and large the writers of these books are not drafting these rules, but rather are cataloging the rules which society has already determined. Further, the evolution of the rules of public conduct can be traced by comparison of the etiquette manuals which have been published over time. The student of display rules could well profit by perusal of this literature, or at least Goffman's treatment of it. For example, Goffman (1963a) quotes Millicent Fenwick, Vogue's Book of Etiquette:

> The first point is that a church is not a social meeting place. Heads turned to look for friends in the congregation, merry nods and smiles, gay greetings, and a distracted restlessness are all out of place in church. If one happens to catch a friend's eye, certainly there is no reason to withhold a glance of recognition and a short subdued smile; but respect for the place and concentration on the ceremony should be the basis of all one's behavior.

While the empiricist might wish for harder data than are provided by Miss Fenwick (and perhaps Goffman) for the specific tabulation of display rules, at least this kind of information could offer a start on the study of the problem.

To be sure, etiquette represents only a portion of the range of display rule learning, and perhaps only the most formal element. Equally important is the learning that begins early in life. The young child probably learns very early to modify the display of affect in the presence of his parents and, later on, his teachers. For example, it would appear, from casual observation, that most children learn that a temper tantrum seldom elicits a positive response from their fathers.

There are three major categories for each display rule: contextual characteristics, the affect that is being experienced, and the management technique. Within the contextual characteristics are the two sub-headings of transient and static variables, and within each of these two classes are the subdivisions of "settling" and "personal." Within each category there are possible differeing degreees of distinction, such that the rule may be written to cover many different conditions and cases, or may only exist for one particular event. This fineness of discrimination might be conceived of as being a vertical dimension to the categories. There is also a horizontal dimension: within the categories several items might be operative at any time. For example, under the personal-static-contextual characteristics both age and sex are always present, but either age or sex, or both, may be written into the rule, depending upon the generality of that rule. Table 1 is a listing of the categories of the display rule concept, with a few variables given for each category as examples.

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Table 1

Display Rule Categories With Examples of Variables

	Contextual Characteristics				Affect	Management Technique
	Static		Transient		happiness	mask
	Setting	Personal	Setting	Personal	sadness	neutralize
Examples of Variables	funeral	age	talking-to	role	anger	intensify
	wedding	sex	listening	attitude	surprise	deintensify
	school	status	in-play	etc.	disgust	
	church	rank	on-stage		contempt	
	etc.	etc.	etc.		fear	
					blends	

For example, we might identify a general rule that says that children should not laugh at an adult's mistakes. If the teacher misspells a word on the blackboard, a student should therefore neutralize the facial display of mirth that might otherwise be expected to occur. Table 2 illustrates this example.

Table 2

Display Rule: In school a student should neutralize the facial behavior associated with his mirth at seeing the teacher make a mistake.

	Contextual Characteristics				Affect	Management Technique
	Static		1 Transient		happiness	neutralize
	Setting	Personal	Setting	Personal		
Variables	school	student	listening to the teacher	observer of teacher's error		

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Management techniques. Four management techniques were specified which can be used by the interactants to modify their facial behavior to conform to the contextual characteristics. It is, at times, necessary to intensify the affect expression, as for example when the teacher tells a joke, the student is instructed by one set of display rules to laugh aloud even though he thinks it is only mildly funny. Another set of display rules instructs a student to deintensify his anger display when the teacher is chastising him, so that the rage he is feeling is shown as irritation. The example above illustrates a case where the student had best neutralize his mirth display, and if the teacher's home-made cookies contain ingredients which the student dislikes the student's disgust display would most prudently be masked by a show of happiness.

Static contextual characteristics. Of the two major classes of contextual characteristics--static and transient--the static characteristics have been more often utilized as independent variables in past research on facial affective behavior. A previous section of this paper identified a number of studies involving culture, and age, for example. But again, these studies were primarily aimed at what might be termed the etiology of affect behavior: the identification of cross-cultural similarities, and developmental processes. What has generally been lacking is a concern for how the facial behavior might be modified from one situation to another, between persons of different ages or sex or culture. In sum, the difference between the past research involving static contextual characteristics and the display rule concept is that the present proposal calls for the static characteristics to be considered as one element in a dynamic situation. Thus while Americans and Japanese may share a common set of facial behaviors for the experience of sadness, and individuals from both cultures might well be stimulated to similar degrees of sadness upon the death of a friend, it is quite possible that there will be a substantial difference between their facial behavior at a funeral in their respective cultures. And further, during the course of the funeral their facial behavior will vary even more, contingent upon the transient context.

Transient contextual characteristics. A major concern of the display rule concept is that affect displays on the face are in a state of flux. While it is possible to specify certain facial configurations which can readily be identified with certain affective labels, the production of these faces by an individual is determined to a large extent by the surroundings in which he finds himself. But further, these surroundings are constantly changing, and so the production of facial affect displays is also changing to meet the situation. The transient contextual characteristics are those elements of the interaction setting which are in this fluid state.

It is here, with the transient elements, that Goffman's interaction vocabulary can serve us best. When Goffman has written about the control of affective behavior it has usually been within the context of an interactional sequence, and one that is identified by the transient nature of the interaction. For example he writes:

> The disciplined performer is also someone with "self control." He can suppress his emotional response to his private problems, to his teammates when they make mistakes, and to the audience when they induce untoward affection or hostility in him. And he can stop himself from laughing about matters which are defined as serious and stop himself from taking seriously matters defined as humorous. In other words, he can suppress his spontaneous feelings in order to give the appearance of sticking to the affective line, the expressive status quo, established by his team's performance, for a display of proscribed affect may not only lead to improper disclosures and offense to the working consensus but may also implicitly extend to the audience the status of team member.
>
> (Goffman, 1959, p.216)

Again, Goffman has only suggested how and when this affective control is to be used. What is now needed is a more rigorous investigation of these culturally-determined rules which govern the display of emotion.

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Two Applications of the Theory

Example one. As an illustration of how the display rule concept can be applied to the study of affect in social interaction, a specific interactional sequence will now be discussed. Two static and several transient variables will be manipulated. The output of this example will be a set of predictions about specific facial affective behavior which could be formed into testable hypotheses for research. The research problems involved in testing such hypotheses will be discussed in the final section of the paper.

The interaction to be considered is between a foreman and a worker, both males of about the same age. The static variable to be manipulated is the dominance status between boss and worker. The transient variables are exit and entrance from the setting, the timing of the exit and entrance--with the worker as the person who is exiting and entering--and in-play and out-of-play. In-play means that boss and worker are in direct interaction with each other, and out-of-play refers to when they are not in direct interaction. In addition, out-of-play for this example will be the on-stage version, where both worker and boss are in each other's presence, but not in interaction with each other, as for example, if the boss is talking to another worker. In-play is also on-stage here.

Table 3 is the matrix of these variables of the interaction with the predicted affect displays inserted into each cell. The columns index the static variables of boss and worker's status. The rows contain the transient variables of worker's entrance and exit; early, on-time, and late; and in-play and out-of-play. Thus, the upper left-hand cell indicates that if the worker arrives at work early and is in interaction with his boss, the boss will display happiness and surprise. The display rule concept states that given these specific contingencies the boss is obliged to display happiness and surprise. If he does not feel happy or surprised at seeing his subordinate arrive at work early, he must then display the proper facial behavior of happy or surprised, by using one of the management techniques.

Table 3

TRANSIENT			STATIC (status) Boss	Worker
Worker's Entrance	Early	in-play	happy/surprise	happy
		out-of-play	happy	happy
	On-Time	in-play	happy	happy
		out-of-play	happy	happy
	Late	in-play	happy/anger	happy/sad/fear
		out-of-play	anger	fear/sad
Worker's Exit	Early	in-play	happy/anger	fear/happy
		out-of-play	anger	fear/sad
	On-Time	in-play	happy/sad	happy/sad
		out-of-play	------	------
	Late	in-play	happy/sad	happy/sad
		out-of-play	happy/sad	------

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For the sake of brevity the affects listed in Table 3 are from a simplified list of affects. The actual case is probably that the affect display, given a set of contingencies, will be drawn from what might be conceived as a "family" or "cluster" of similar affects under the general rubric of one of these affect labels. Thus the happiness displayed might be labeled "pleased" or "joyful" or "mildly pleasant" depending upon the intensity of the display. And of course, if more than one affect is called for, the combination might have a specific label, for example, a triumphant look might be a combination of happiness and contempt, or shock might be surprise-fear.

A number of hypotheses can be made which provide a background for the predictions in Table 3. First is that greeting behavior follows a very general display rule which should be relatively constant within a culture. In the United States the rule says that when two people encounter each other after an absence both should display pleasure on their faces. Secondly, departure behavior is likewise controlled by display rules stating that the interactants should display sadness at parting.

A third series of hypotheses center around the maintenance of working conditions between the interactants--'team work' in Goffman's terms. The boss has two conditions to meet. First he has to maintain his authority over the workers, and second he has to maintain an atmosphere conducive to efficient production. (The industrial psychologists can probably supply much more specific data regarding the maintenance of working systems, but for the purposes of the present paper it should be sufficient to hypothesize that one way of maintaining the efficient working situation is to ensure that the workers are happy.) The boss will probably display anger if the worker enters late or leave early from work, not only because he may indeed be angry at the worker's behavior, but because he needs to signal displeasure at negative deviancy by the worker to maintain his status as the boss, and to negatively reinforce such deviant behavior. In the same vein, the worker should indicate his remorse at being late by displaying sadness, shame or fear, even if he feels no such remorse, to indicate his proper attitude toward the dominance hierarchy within the work situation. To ensure a pleasant working situation these negative affect displays should be balanced by positive affect when the worker gives the boss cause for such displays. Therefore, when the worker arrives or leaves on time the boss should acknowledge this behavior with conformity to normal greeting and departure behavior--both of which convey regard toward the worker--and positive deviancy--arriving early and leaving late--should be rewarded with positive affect displays.

The specific facial affect predictions in Table 3 can now be discussed in view of the above hypotheses. First, looking at the transient condition of the worker's entrance--the upper half of the table--when the worker arrives on time to work, and when he and the boss are either in or out-of-play, the display rule functioning is that of the pleasure to be shown at initial encounter--greeting behavior. This pleasure will probably be highest or most intense between worker and boss while in-play, and least intense while out-of-play. When the worker arrives early to work, and when he and the boss are in-play, the boss should give an extra amount of pleasure display, and perhaps some surprise to indicate his approval of the worker's actions, in addition to the normal greeting behavior. The worker should reciprocate with the pleasant greeting behavior. While out-of-play both of these behaviors are still present, but to a lesser extent. Even so, the boss should give a "reward" of a smile of approval. The negative deviancy of late-to-work indicates, perhaps, insufficient concern for the job on the part of the worker, and calls for negative reinforcement from the boss. Late-to-work and out-of-play calls for just the anger display by the boss, and fear/sadness (or remorse) by the worker. But in-play and late-to-work compounds the situation by introducing the necessity to display the pleasant greeting behavior, in addition to the negative affect display. The result might be a simultaneously occurring blend of the two affects, but more likely would be a sequential blend with the greeting behavior preceding the anger or sadness.

By and large, the worker's exit conditions are a mirror image of the entrance conditions, although a few peculiarities should be noted. First is the conflicting rules of generalized departure behavior. Both participants in such a situation are expected to display both sadness at leaving and happiness with the other's presence. The boss

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should show the sadness at bidding the worker good-bye but indicate his pleasure in having the employee around. The worker should display the sadness at leaving the presence of the boss, a display which communicates that he is not anxious to be through with work and away from the job environment, and his pleasure at interacting with the boss and having such a good job. These considerations all result in the predicted happy/sad displays during the on-time, in-play exits. Out-of-play and on-time is probably not reliably predictable because of the conflicting display rules.

A cross-cultural example. The previous example considered the effects of display rules within a setting where the transient characteristics changed, and the static contrast was between the status of the two interactants. Another example of the effects of display rules would be where the transient characteristics are the same for each of the subjects, and where there is a difference in some gross static characteristic, such as ethnicity. An interesting example of such a situation is given by Zborowski (1969) in his book on cultural reactions to pain.

Zborowski has shown that behavior to the experience of pain is determined to a certain extent by the ethnicity of the persons experiencing pain. In particular, he found that Irish, Old American, Jewish, and Italian patients, in that order, tended to vary from minimal to maximal overt reaction to pain. His explanations of this phenomenon include the notion that there are cultural differences in the interpretation given to pain, for example, the Irish tend toward a pessimism which gives pain the message of possible future disability. This is coupled with an authoritarianism which sets the doctor up as a fate-control agent. Thus nothing is to be done about pain except trust in the doctor to cure the cause of the pain, and little is to be gained from announcing the pain to the world. The Italian, on the other hand, sees pain as a phenomenon in itself that must be dealt with. Pain prevents his normal exuberance, and his primary goal is to alleviate the pain. Thus it is to his advantage to ensure that the doctor, and anyone else who might help, is aware of the pain.

What emerges from Zborowski's explanation is that the Irish have internalized a set of rules which say that to display pain is generally not acceptable. The only permitted situation for such a display would be in the presence of a doctor, and even there, one must control his display. The Italian's rule is to display pain whenever there is an opportunity for that display to be instrumental in alleviating the pain. The exception is that the Italian is careful not to display his pain in front of his wife (which, incidentally, is directly opposite to the Jewish display rule according to Zborowski).

Given Zborowski's findings, and the conclusion of Boucher (1969) that there is a distinguishable facial display for pain, predictions can be made about the facial displays of Italian and Irish patients in pain. Holding all variables constant, such as age, sex, intensity of pain, degree of ethnic identification,[4] and transient characteristics of the interaction, the Italian patient should display his pain while in interaction with a doctor, a nurse and with a friend, while the Irish patient should show much less pain--if any--while interacting with those three persons. There may be a certain degree of intensity of display which varies across the three interaction situations for each of the two patients: most pain for the doctor, and least for the friend, but the difference in intensity should be more extreme for the Irish patient, since his rule ordains no display at all for the friend or nurse, and perhaps only minimal display for the doctor.

Suggestions for Research

The display rule theory proposes that individuals have internalized a set of norms which instruct them how to modify their facial affective behavior during interpersonal interaction. It follows that there are two basic research questions that can be asked to test the display rule theory. First, if people have internalized these rules, what do they know about the rules? Secondly, if these rules produce more than just idiosyncratic behavior, what are the commonalities that can be measured from subjects engaged in display rule behavior? These two questions call for quite different research strategies, and the discussion that follows will be divided between them.

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Studies of Beliefs about Facial Behavior

There is a great deal of folklore concerning what have been called display rules, and one way to begin an investigation of the phenomena might well be to establish just what these informal beliefs are. Goffman's use of material from the etiquette manuals to determine rules of interaction was mentioned above, and it was proposed that one could use some of this material for gleaning beliefs about display rules.

The literature-search methodology is not limited to etiquette manual type information. Also to be considered are the field notes of anthropologists and sociologists. In particular, the anthropological literature should be an invaluable source of material relevant to ethnicity and display rules. In the previous section of this paper an example was given of how observations from a study involving ethnicity and reactions to pain could generate hypotheses of specific facial behavior in a given context. In the same way field notes of emotional behavior in a given culture and context might be combined with the existing data on facial affective behavior to form predictions about specific modification of facial displays in that context. As another example, American folklore is replete with statements alluding to the supposed stoicism of the American Indian. It might prove quite interesting to collate accounts of specific instances where this stoicism was manifested, starting with the frontier accounts of interactions with Indians and continuing with the reports of scientists of interactions with Indians and continuing with the reports of scientists such as Kroeber, Kluckhohn, and Aberle. Are there differences between the various tribes and nations? Is it a phenomonon common to all affect arousal, or specific to certain states such as fear and pain? Once this type of material is collected it might be possible to construct a more rigorous test of the display rule by manipulations such as will be discussed below.

A second type of investigation is the questionnaire method. Since the display rule concept states that people have learned these rules, and that all of us are subject to them, records could be obtained by asking people just what they know about the management of affect in a specific context. A questionnaire could be drawn up which lists a number of very specific interactional situations. The subjects could be asked to respond to the items either in a free response fashion specifying the facial behavior they would expect, or they could be asked to choose from a list of affects they think might be displayed, or they could be asked to select a photograph of a face showing the expected behavior from a set of photographs of facial affect.

Boucher has work in progress ulitizing this technique. Malay informants were asked to tell stores about situations were one person caused another person to feel an emotion. In half of the stories the informants were instructed to tell a story about a situation where the the person feeling the emotion displayed what he felt, while in the other half of the stories, the person feeling the emotion did not show what he felt. These records look very promising. For example: A secretary was very angry because her boss criticized her work, but she did not show her anger because it would be improper for an employee to show her anger toward her employer. This story suggests a display rule which would also be likely to appear in an American sample. One less likely to appear in an American sample is implied in the story about a mother who is very happy that her son passed his school exams, but the mother does not display her happiness because to do so would make her appear proud and appearing proud is unacceptable.

Studies of Actual Facial Behavior

Rather than studying the information that people believe about their facial affective behavior, the behavior itself can be investigated. The methodologies involved in such studies range from observation of the behavior in a natural situation, through generation of the behavior in a laboratory environment, to simulation of the behavior by subjects or actors. The essential focus of such studies is to gain a certain amount of control over the contextual variables to be able to make educated statements and predictions about the

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nature of affect displays during interaction. This control can be as minimal as identification of the variables in a natural setting or as complete as in the laboratory environment where almost any change in behavior is attributable to the manipulations of the experimenter. And since the display rule theory is a dynamic concept, change in behavior is a requirement for evidence that the display rule is in force.

Records of facial behavior and display rules can be collected either from a natural setting or by generation within the laboratory. These are not completely mutually exclusive categories, since certain laboratory environments can be considered to be natural settings, and certain natural settings can be manipulated as if they were within the laboratory. Nonetheless, distinguishing between the two methodologies makes the task of organizing a discussion of research methodologies a little less complex.

Observational methods utilizing a natural setting are defined by Weick (1968) as "the selection, provocation, recording, and encoding of that set of behaviors and settings concerning organisms 'in situ' which is consistent with empirical aims." As Weick points out, this is a very general definition that does little to distinguish from most experimental methods, except for the term "in situ". Further, he argues that a natural environment can be manipulated, contrary to most views of natural observation, since "most behaviors of interest for observation are sufficiently stable and habituated that they appear with regularity even in the face of minor changes in the setting." As applied to the study of display rule phenomena, natural observation includes that methodology where the behavior of interest--the modification of the facial affective behavior in response to contextual contingencies—is observed and recorded in a situation where that behavior would be expected to occur in "mundane life". The important task of the investigator is to insure that the behavior does take place, that he is aware of the contingencies of the setting and subjects, and that his intrusion into the setting is minimal. He may either observe the behavior and write down his observations, or he may make a permanent record of the situation using various filming techniques.

Natural observation could be applied to test, for example, the hypothesis that among middle-class Americans the chief mourner at a funeral should show the highest degree of grief, and that another person interacting with the chief mourner will manage his display of grief to correspond to that norm. The investigator could attend a number of funerals and observe the behavior of the chief mourner and a selected subordinate mourner, possibly recording their behavior on film for later more detailed analysis than his notes might permit. He has the perhaps difficult task of determining the ranking of the mourners, and the other relative static and transient characteristics of the setting and interactants. He would be observing the display of grief produced by the subordinate mourner, and the change in this display when the subordinate comes into play with the chief mourner. If he is to make any comparative statements across different funeral settings he will need also to specify the age, sex, situation, and ethnicity within the funeral setting, particularly if he observes that the rule holds in one setting and not another.

Rather than depend upon the behavior of interest to occur in a natural setting when an observer is present, the behavior may be induced in the laboratory, or the natural setting can be manipulated to ensure the occurrence of the interaction and subsequent display rule behavior. In either of these cases the experimenter has a set of conflicting demands placed upon him. He must control as many variables as possible--in fact limiting the number of variables to those absolutely necessary for his particular interest--and yet have a situation wherein the behavior of interest will occur in as lifelike a fashion as possible. While these demands are limiting, they are not impossible to meet. If the display rules are as deeply ingrained into the individual as would be expected for phenomena learned and reinforced throughout the life of the individual, they are likely of the "stable and habituated" nature that Weick referred to, and experimental intervention can be performed with minimal loss. In fact, the laboratory environment can be used to advantage, investigating those display rules associated with the status of doctor or professional person. Entrance and exit behavior, for example, should function almost regardless of the environment, so again, the laboratory is just another real-life setting

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as far as the contingencies of the display rule situation are concerned. However, for these latter conditions to be exploited the experimenter has to guard against the subject being aware that nonverbal behavior is a concern of the laboratory, since awareness of such information could possibly influence the subject to behave in an unnatural manner. While one of the advantages of using the laboratory setting is that subjects can often be made to repeat their behaviors so as to increase reliability, or to serve as their own control, the experimenter has to guard against the subject becoming aware of the experiment through being repeatedly exposed to the same stimuli.

Since the purpose of any experiment is to extract the most reliable information from a situation by maintaining control over the variables, and yet hope that the elicited behavior is equivalent to the behavior as it occurs outside of the experimental conditions, the ideal experiment would be a natural situation with all possible variables and their influence on the behavior of the subject being identified. This ideal is probably impossible to achieve but it should be good.

An example of a successful experiment designed to test the display rule concept is Friesen's (1972) study of Japanese and Americans. Subjects from both cultures were shown highly stressful films and then were interviewed by persons from their own cultures. During the interview session the subjects were shown excerpts from the stress films, and videotape recordings were made of the entire experiment. These tapes were scored for the presence of positive and negative affect. When they were alone and watching the stressful films (Ekman, 1972) the subjects from both cultures displayed a similar range of facial affects. However, when the subjects were watching the stressful films in the presence of another member of their own culture, the American subjects displayed more negative affect than the Japanese subjects did.

Finally, records can also be generated by simulation of affective behavior within the laboratory. No attempt to assure subject naiveté is made here: rather, the full cooperation of the subject is needed. For example, doctors could be told a hypothetical situation--such as confronting a dying patient--and asked to show how they would look. Such a process could be used to gather records relevant to "bedside manner". This methodology is quite similar to the questionnaire method in that the subject's introspection is needed, except that their own facial behavior is part of the generated records.

Comparison of the Record Collection Techniques

The advantage to using natural observation is that if the predicted behavior does occur there is less likelihood that the behavior is contingent upon the experimental restrictions than if the behavior is generated in the laboratory. Further, even if the behavior of interest were to occur as readily in the laboratory as in a natural setting there is a chance that the behavior is not exactly the same. It may be quite expensive in both time and actual monetary costs to construct a working laboratory environment, but relatively cheap to use a real-life situation. Of course this position is reversed if there is a film record to be taken: it is usually less expensive to film in a fixed environment than in the field. A disadvantage to natural observation is that there may be so much behavior taking place within the setting that the behavior of interest is obscured. In the laboratory one has a better chance of eliminating extraneous behaviors. In the field it may take a large amount of time for the behavior of interest to occur--if it ever does--whereas in the laboratory the behavior is easily elicited. Thirdly, in the field the behavior of interest may only occur once, or may only occur in different people once each, whereas in the laboratory the situations can be constructed to elicit the behavior in the same subjects repeatedly, and in different combinations of interactants. In the field situation the experimenter is limited in who his subjects are, in so far as he can only do his best to be where the desired subjects are. In the laboratory, the experimenter can ensure that he obtains a homogeneous subject group. Conversely, it may be impossible to persuade the desired subjects to come to the laboratory, and the experimenter must use natural observation, or a manipulated natural situation. And

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finally, different ethnical considerations may apply to the two types of research strategies. In natural observation the primary consideration might be whether or not the investigator is justified in invading the privacy of persons engaged in emotional behavior. In the laboratory the primary issue could be whether or not the investigator is justified in causing his subjects to experience an emotion.

In sum, the experimenter has two general aims in setting up the record collection setting: control of variables and elicitation of natural behavior. The laboratory environment facilitates control at the expense of naturalness, while natural observation facilitates naturalness of the behavior at the expense of control. Both aims are obtainable in both situations, but the economies of research will likely dictate compromise in the directions stated and the experimenter's task is to minimize the losses accruing to his compromise.

Summary

A theory of facial affective behavior in interpersonal interaction has been developed through the consideration of studies of facial behavior and of rules of public conduct. Display rules were defined as a set of norms that the individual internalizes during the socialization process which instruct him how to manage his facial affect display given a set of contextual contingencies. Several examples of behavior in an interpersonal interaction sequence were discussed, with emphasis upon the identification of the contextual characteristics of the person and setting. It was noted that investigation of display rules could be attempted by measuring what people believe about their ability to manage facial affect or by measuring actual facial behavior, and record collection was considered for both of these two strategies.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This paper draws heavily upon an unpublished manuscript I wrote while studying with Paul Ekman. I acknowledge with gratitude the suggestions, comments and criticisms offered by both Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen on the earlier manuscript, and hope that I have remained faithful to, and have given sufficient credit for, their input into the present translation of the display rule concept.

[2] Ekman and Friesen (1969a) have named five categories of nonverbal behavior: emblems, illustrators, adaptors, regulators, and affect displays. This paper is concerned with affect displays only.

[3] For a more detailed review of this literature, the interested reader is referred to Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1972) and Ekman (1973).

[4] Buss & Portnoy (1967) have shown that the tolerance of pain by individuals varies as a function of group identification and the norms given to the individual about pain tolerance in different groups.

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SEATING AS A MEASURE OF BEHAVIOR: YOU ARE WHERE YOU SIT

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And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms; saying unto them,

When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room; lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him;

And he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.

But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.

For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. (Luke 14: 7-11)

As Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban entered the cavernous council chamber of Geneva's Palais des Nations for the opening session of the Mideast peace conference last week, he stopped short. During the night, someone had changed the seating arrangement so that now a large empty table ostensibly for the eventual use of the boycotting Syrians had been wedged between the places reserved for the Israeli and Egyptian delegations. Eban, angered by what he saw as a snub promptly announced that he was walking out. For 40 tense minutes, officials raced between antechambers trying to work out a compromise. Finally, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim suggested that "he" sit between the Egyptians and Israelis. Both sides grudgingly agreed, and at last, after a quarter-century of hot and cold wars, the first full-fledged Arab-Israeli peace talks got under way. "Until I heard that gavel," sighed a top U.S. diplomat, "I didn't quite believe it would happen." (Newsweek, volume 82, No. 27, December 31, 1973, p. 16)

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> Promptness at the opera is only decent courtesy to the performers and to the rest of the audience. Conservative hostesses arrive at their boxes at least fifteen minutes before curtain time and seat themselves in the first row in the seat farthest from the stage (in a centrally located box the hostess is at the right). As guests arrive, older women guests are seated with the hostess in the front row, the younger women sit in the second row with the older men, and the young men sit in the last row with the host. (Amy Vanderbilt's Complete Book of Etiquette, 1958, pp. 590-591).

> From a conversation overheard by the author in a restaurant, Seattle, Washington, June, 1972, after a party of four had just been seated by the maitre d'hotel: The person who appeared to be the leader said, "Why am I always seated next to the kitchen. Do I look like a hick or something?"

> Feshbach and Feshbach (1963) report on another type of clustering (of where people sit). At a Halloween party, they induced fear in a group of boys, aged nine to twelve, by telling them ghost stories.... What is of interest to us is a parenthetical statement made by the authors. After describing the ghost-story-telling situation, the Feshbachs offer evidence for the successful induction of fear: "Although the diameter of the circle was about eleven feet at the beginning of the story telling, by the time the last ghost story was completed, it had been spontaneously reduced to approximately three feet (p. 499)." (From Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1966, pp. 123-124).

Introduction

Where people sit is an important index of how they feel about others, as well as how people judge their acceptance or rejection by others. The five examples listed above, from the Bible, current events, an etiquette book, an overhead conversation, and a scholarly work indicate that the act of sitting in a given place may communicate such qualities as status, warmth, or hostility toward other people, and the emotional state of the person who assumes a seated position. If seating behavior is actually an index or measure of these and possibly other important qualities of people and of the relation between people, then it should not have escaped the attention of social psychologists, and indeed it hasn't. Social psychologists study the relation of individuals to other individuals, and so study such everyday behaviors as the attraction one person feels toward another (e.g., love, deference to status), the relation between individuals and the groups to which they belong (e.g., leadership, morale), or individuals' feelings about their place in society (e.g., alienation, political attitudes). Social psychology is a new field of study in contrast to many others which find their home in universities; the first texts in the area were written in 1908. Progress in the development of this speciality (whose members are trained in departments of psychology and/or sociology) has included both advances in findings about human social behavior as well as advances in developing new and better methods for the discovery of important findings. The analysis of seating arrangements is a new method, with almost all studies employing the technique being published since 1960. The primary purpose of this paper will be to review studies that have both analyzed what seating behavior means and studies that have used analyses of seating behavior to study other phenomena within the area of social psychology. Another goal is to convince readers that the analysis of seating behavior is not only interesting but important and that a knowledge of the research on seating

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behavior can prove useful in the solution of applied, practical problems. To begin, a few words will be said about why such techniques as seating behavior analysis were developed.

Unobtrusive and Behavioral Measures

Social psychology is concerned with the behavior of individuals in relation to other individuals. Yet the actual measure that social psychologists most often analyze at the end of their survey or experiment is people's responses on a questionnaire telling how they feel. For instance, people might be asked to rate a person they have just met by placing an "X" in the space that comes closest to their feelings:

like ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ dislike

bad ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ good

Responding to a questionnaire is a behavior, to be sure, and yet various research activities in recent years have indicated that there are limits to how much can be learned from questionnaire responses. Rosenthal (1966) has documented how researchers can unwittingly communicate what responses they would prefer to see participants in their studies emit. Since it is easy to answer a questionnaire or scale like the one presented above in a certain way, the participants can help the researcher if they want to, or they can sabotage the project with nonsensical answers to the questions, if they feel so inclined. Further, when people receive a questionnaire they know they are being studied in some way. The "guinea pig" effect refers to a situation in which people know they are participants in a research project and become guarded about how they act. Consequently, they may act differently than if they are not being studied.

Another body of research, reviewed by Wicker (1969), has led to the disturbing conclusion that people's responses to questionnaires do not bear very much relation to how they actually behave. For instance (Wicker, 1971), people have said that they are very religious and that they enjoy going to church in response to a questionnaire, but these measures of attitudes bore little relation to actual church attendance, monetary contributions, or participation in other church activities (all closely monitored as part of the research project). Many readers will be bothered by the finding of little relation between attitudes and behavior (which has been replicated by many other researchers, including the author: Brislin and Olmstead, 1973). Just one of many reasons is the nature of situational pressures that intervene between attitudes and behavior. For instance, in the church study, such situational pressures as the presence of visiting non-believer relatives over the weekend, poor travel conditions, sickness, and so forth could intervene between the desire to go to church and actual behavior. The purpose for reviewing this research is not to analyze the attitude-behavior controversy (see Wicker, 1969), but to simply point out one more reason why social psychologists have become distrustful of research based only on questionnaire measures of attitudes.

Because of the distrust, methodologists have recently given attention to the development of actual behavioral measures, sometimes called unobtrusive measures. The key point is that behavioral measures are those that people emit naturally, and that they can be recorded without the people knowing that they are being studied, hence the word "unobtrusive." Or if people know that they are in some sort of a study, it should be easy to divert their attention from the actual measure of interest, for instance by asking them to fill out a questionnaire. The actual measure that the researcher records could be how far the person sits from the friendly vs. unfriendly or high status vs. low status assistant who is administering the questionnaire. Webb and his colleagues (1966), who called attention to the anecdote about children listening to ghost stories used as an introduction to this paper, have presented the most eloquent defense of such measures. They point out the desirability of multiple measures so that the weaknesses of one, e.g., a questionnaire and its shortcomings mentioned above, can be offset by the strengths of another, e.g., behavioral measures with its advantage of unobtrusiveness into people's normal, everyday routine.

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Bickman and Henchy (1972) have recently published a collection of studies that have used behavioral measures such as: cash register sales of toy guns after the presence or absence of a picket protesting their use by children; willingness to help a stranger mail a letter after discovering that the stranger is either a countryman or a visitor from another country; tendency to jaywalk after a seeing a high or low status person do the same; and restaurant owners' willingness to seat a Negro couple before vs. after a compaign against segregation. The purpose of this paper is to review studies such as the last one, those that investigated or used the behavioral measure of seating. Since almost all the studies have been done in the United States, Canada, or Great Britain, it is impossible to generalize the findings beyond these countries. Suggestions will be made, however, for possible cross-cultural investigations. To begin, two studies will be analyzed which attempted to define what people are communicating, or what they mean, when they decide to sit in a certain spot. These two studies used the statistical technique called factor analysis.

Factor Analyses

A brief excursion to describe the statistical technique of factor analysis is warranted at this point since the technique has helped greatly in understanding what seating behavior means. An explanatory example involving everyday concepts will be presented first, and with this as background, the actual studies that have investigated seating will be reviewed. Factor analysis is a technique designed to group together diverse elements into a smaller number of "factors" that are composed of interrelated elements. Hence it is a reducing technique which takes a large number of elements and reduces them to a smaller, more easily understandable set of factors. The actual statistics are complex (Harman, 1967), but the results of the statistics can be readily understood on a conceptual level. Let's look at the diverse elements on the left-hand side of Table 1. Assume that we would like to reduce the number of elements, but in a meaningful way so that the underlying qualities of the elements are highlighted. It is these "underlying qualities" that are the factors, the results of a factor analysis.

TABLE 1

Elements Before and After the Results of a Factor Analysis

			Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
love	endless meetings	liberty horses	love	lectures	clown
			marriage	tenure	aerialist
tenure	aerialist	baby carriage	baby	endless	liberty
			carriage	meetings	horses
clown	marriage	lectures			

The right-hand side of Table 1 gives the results, in this pedagogical example, after the left-hand elements have been factor-analyzed. The elements are grouped into three factors. Labels can then be given to the factors by the researcher. Factor 1 might be called "starting a family." Factor 2 is clearly "life in a university," and Factor 3 is "the circus." The ideal factor analysis, then, groups various and diverse elements together in a meaningful way and also determines "what goes with what." The latter aspect is especially important for research that examines a new area (such as seating behavior) as it is sometimes unclear exactly how a given element fits together with other elements. If it can be shown that the given element is part of a clear factor (remember, the ideal factor analysis reveals the underlying qualities of elements), then real progress has been made in understanding the new problem area. With this instructional factor analysis as background, studies of seating behavior will now be reviewed.

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Two areas of research will be reviewed, one which might be called "molecular" and the other "molar." In the molecular study, seating behavior was broken down into various elements (hence the term "molecular") such as distance from another person, reclining vs. upright posture of the person seated, and relaxation of head and neck (Mehrabian, 1972b). In the molar study (Kiesler and Goldberg, 1968), seating behavior was factor-analyzed along with larger elements such as desirability of including another person in one's social club, or desire to vote for another person in an election. Both studies give us a good deal of information.

The individual who has done the most work on seating behavior with the help of such statistical techniques as factor analysis has been Albert Mehrabian (1971; 1972 a, b; Mehrabian and Friar, 1969; Mehrabian and Williams, 1969). The results of his work are very complex, but an attempt will be made to summarize those findings that seem most robust, as indicated by the criterion that others (e.g., Sommer, 1969; Argyle and Dean, 1965) have come to the same conclusions in their research. In one case a generalization from a study of people's behavior while standing (Mehrabian and Williams, 1969) will be made since the consistency of the results from the total body of research (reviewed by Mehrabian, 1972b, especially pages 110-114) seems to justify the inclusion of this one "standing" study.

After analyzing the seating behavior of people who were communicating with others whom they liked or disliked, and who were of higher or lower status, the following elements were shown to be interrelated and so comprise a factor: (a) positive attitude the person being addressed; (b) physical proximity to the person being addressed; (c) amount of eye contact with the person; (d) a forward rather than backward lean of the body toward the person; and (e) an orientation of the torso toward rather than away from the person. These elements, then, form a factor that can easily be labelled "liking for the person and corresponding body positioning." Specifically for the topic under review in this paper, the research shows that seating distance and body posture are part of the larger factor of liking another person.

Other elements of seating behavior were found to be a part of a second factor, and this was comprised of: (a) high vs. low status of the person being addressed; much separated in some way (asymmetrical); (c) straight body posture vs. reclining position of the body, or a sideways lean; (d) tenseness vs. relaxation of hand or neck. Put another way, people were found to be more tense with a person of high status and more relaxed with a person of low status. The first parts of the elements in (a) through (d), above, are associated with each other (e.g., high status, limbs together, straight posture, etc.), as are the last parts of the four elements. The obvious label for the second factor is "status of the person being addressed and corresponding body positioning," and for the topic under review in this paper, the research shows that aspects of seating behavior are part of a larger factor involving the status of the people next to whom a given individual might sit.[1]

In the Kiesler and Goldberg (1968) study, seating distance (one aspect of seating behavior) was one element that was put into a factor analysis along with other elements that indicate relations between people. These elements were "molar" in comparison to those studied by Mehrabian. Participants in an experiment heard a person on a tape recording and were then asked a wide-ranging set of questions about this person. These included a question about where they would sit if this person were in the same room, and it was answered by filling in a diagram indicating where tables and chairs were located. There were two clear factors that emerged. The first was "a socio-emotional category of interpersonal attraction, closely related to what one might ordinarily call 'liking' (p. 700)." This is the factor that included seating distance, the smaller the distance, the greater the liking. Other elements in this factor included the prediction that the participants' friends will also like the person, and that the participants would ask the person to lunch, a movie, or a party, and in general spend free time with the other person. The second factor was more task related and represented respect rather than liking. It did not include seating distance as an element, but this is not a disappointment because it is useful to know what something is as well as what it is not. The task-respect factor included such items as willingness to vote for the other person in an election, admiration, respect for the other

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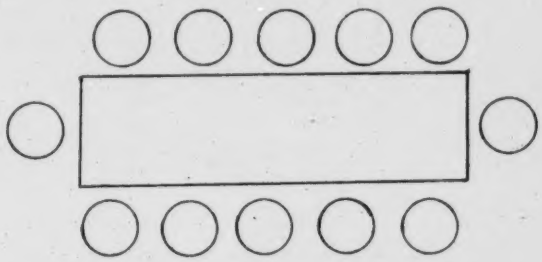
person's opinion, and desire to seek the person's opinion on various topics. Separate factors of "liking" and "task-respect" have been found by many investigators in studies of groups, or more specifically leadership in groups (e.g., Wrightsman, 1972, pp. 496-498). The well-replicated basic finding is that both of these factors are necessary for a group to be rewarding and important to its members, but that one person can rarely satisfy both the "liking" (or affiliative-social needs) and the "task-respect" functions of a group. Certain people are simply better at one function than the other, but it would be difficult to say that one person is more valuable than another just because he or she is better at one of the functions. Both are necessary. Because of the Kiesler and Goldberg study, we know that seating distance is related to liking rather than to respect. Since Mehrabian, analyzing quite different elements in his factor analytic work, came to the same conclusion that seating distance is related to a "positive attitude" toward another person, the present author will accept their findings and apply them to analyses within other sections of this paper.

The Who, Who With, What Doing, When, Where, Why, and How of Seating

Many of the findings about seating behavior can be organized around an adaptation of the old mnenomic device, "who, what, when, where, why, and how." Studies have been done on the qualities of the person who engages in the act of sitting down (who), qualities of other people in the vicinity (who with), the nature of the task that brings the people together (what doing), considerations involving time (when), place in which the seating behavior occurs (where), reasons for sitting in a given place (why), and the posture assumed while sitting (how). Much of the material within the framework is drawn from the research, review, and insightful analyses of Sommer (1969), supplemented by other studies where appropriate.

Who. Perhaps the most interesting study of the relation between qualities of individuals and seating was done by Strodtbeck and Hook (1961). The purpose of their study was to analyze the interaction among jurors who were deciding the outcome of various civil and criminal cases. Strodtbeck and Hook were not able to study actual court cases because of the inviolate privacy of jury deliberations, but their simulation (see J. Boucher's paper, this volume for a discussion of simulation) was as realistic as practical considerations would allow. After hearing a case, jurors were led by a bailiff into a room that contained a table like that pictured below, the seats being indicated by circles. The jurors elected their foreman, and there was a strong trend for one of the two people at the ends of the table to be elected. Three reasons were posited, all of them probably contributing to this trend: (1) there is a norm in our society that the chairman is at the head of the table and (2) because of this, if someone at the side of the table was elected, the people at the head positions might be insulted; (3) people from the higher social class backgrounds, with such occupations as professionals and managers, chose the head positions more often than would be expected by chance alone,[2] perhaps because they were more accustomed to authority roles in which they would sit at the head of a table. At the close of the jury deliberations, the people at the head of the table were rated by the other jurors as having made more significant contributions than people at the sides.



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Three very different personality variables have been studied in relation to seating behavior. Liepold (1963) found that people who were anxious about an interview sat further away from the interviewer than non-anxious people. Further, if the people were naturally introverted as opposed to extraverted (or in less precise but more common terms, shy vs. outgoing), they sat at a distance further away from the interviewer. A more severe personality factor is schizophrenia which is commonly classified as a severe psychological disorder characterized by a person's lack of contact with reality. Sommer has found that schizophrenics, in contrast to "normals," were more likely to sit far too close to another person (whom the schizophrenics had not seen before) so as to make the other person uncomfortable. This is an example of what has been called "violation of one's personal space," since it is very disturbing for people if another sits too close to them, or if their so-called personal space, the area immediately around them, is violated. Sommer speculates "on whether this relates to the schizophrenic's lack of a stable self image and clear self-boundaries. A person unsure of who he is may not be clear as to where he ends and the next person begins (1969, p. 70)."

Seating behavior is also dependent upon the sex of the individual who chooses a seat. Both Sommer (1959) and Bryne, Baskett, and Hodges (1971) have demonstrated that, when given a choice, females will sit beside a person they like while males will sit across from or opposite a person they like. One practical conclusion from the Byrne study is that if seating behavior is to be used as a measure of liking for another person, then the arrangement of tables and chairs where the seating would take place has to be designed according to the sex of the study's participants. Women must have the opportunity to sit or not sit alongside another person to show their feelings while men must have the opportunity to sit or not sit across or opposite a person. When Byrne gave both males and females a chance to show their feelings in a room allowing only "across" seating, the results showed the liking-seating behavior relationship only for the men.

Who with. When a person chooses a seat in a place where another person is present, the seating choice is related to qualities of that other person. Byrne, Baskett and Hodges (1971) gave the participants in their study information about two other people. Of these other people, one was depicted as having similar attitudes to a given participant on such issues as classical music, novels, choice of political parties, and orientation toward the American way of life, and the second was depicted as having dissimilar attitudes. The participants were then led into a room in which the two people were already seated, and the participants then had to choose their own seats. The results were clear only when the sex of the participant was taken into account; (this is the same study that led to the conclusions about sex differences already discussed in the section immediately preceeding this one). Combining results from the two studies reported by Byrne and his colleagues, females sat beside the similar rather than the dissimilar person when the room arrangement allowed for this type of seating. Males sat across from the similar rather than the dissimilar other person when the room arrangement allowed for this type of seating. These results fit in well with the entire body of Byrne's (1969) research on the proposition that if people have similar attitudes, then they are favorably attracted to each other. Other researchers have attempted to generalize this proposition. In a study of intergroup interaction between members of nine ethnic groups, Brislin (1969) found that the best prediction of where the members of the different groups sat in an open meeting place was the perceived similarity of attitudes of the various groups. For instance, people from the island of Palau in Micronesia perceived that people from Ponape had attitudes more similar to themselves than people from Guam, and so the Palauans were more likely to sit with the Ponapeans than the Guamanians.

In a related study, Rosenfeld (1965) asked some participants in a study to go into another room and behave in a way so as to show the other person that "you want to be friendly." For the rest of the participants, the instructions were to let the other person know that "you do not want to become friendly." The instructions specified that the communication should be done without any direct verbal statements about being or not being friendly with the other person. The average distance the "become friendly" participants sat from the other person was 57 inches, while the participants who received the "not become friendly" instructions

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kept an average distance of 94 inches. The same closeness vs. distant seating behavior was found (Kleck, 1969) when the other person was described as "warm and friendly" in contrast to "cold and unfriendly."

Another set of studies investigated the effect of a stigma on seating behavior (Kleck, 1969). One group of people were told that a person in another room was an epileptic, while a second group was not given this information. The people sat further away from the other person when he had been described as an epileptic. In another study, a college student was hired to play the role of an amputee, and he sat in a specially-made wheel chair. Participants in a study, who were instructed to help either an amputee or a supposedly normal person on a task, sat at a greater distance from the amputee. Assuming that the stigma-keeping one's distance relation holds in everyday life, just as it was demonstrated in this study, there may be negative consequences for the person with a stigma, as Sommer suggests: "The fact that a person in a wheel chair is kept at a greater distance would be likely to have some effect upon his motivation, attitudes, and feelings of belonging with normal individuals (1969, p. 70)." This conclusion will be mentioned again later in the paper when some potential practical effects of seating behavior analysis for such areas as psychotherapy will be suggested.

What doing. Research on the effects of what people are doing and their seating behavior has focused on the nature of various tasks that the people perform. In one study (Batchelor and Goethals, 1972), an individual participant was a member of a group of eight people, and each of the eight people could place their chairs anyplace in a large room. The eight people were given information about a problem and were asked to either come to individual decisions, or they were asked to come to a collective decision after having discussed the problem. The results showed that people seated themselves closer to each other, and had more visual contact, when they were making a collective decision. The other task-related dimension that has been studied is whether the people believe they are to cooperate with or compete against another person on a task. Sommer (1969) found that there was a strong trend for people to sit on the same side of a long table as another person (in preference to the opposite side) when there was to be cooperation on the task. There was no such trend, however, when there was to be competition on the task. Note that this finding says more about the meaning of side-by-side seating than it does about liking, because a person can be the same distance from another person in either type of seating referred to above, and it is distance that has been shown to relate to liking. Apparently the side-by-side seating arrangement has at least a mild connotation of readiness to cooperate with another, or perhaps a readiness not to engage in competitive or hostile behavior.

A final task-related dimension is the nature of the topic people are asked to discuss. Surprisingly, McNeill (reported in Sommer, 1969) found that the topic made no difference in seating behavior, with very personal topics (e.g., sex as communication) leading to similar types of seating arrangements as more impersonal topics. On one level this finding can be taken as a disappointing negative result but, on the other hand, it is as important to know what does not affect behavior as what does. If we can be confident that the topic of conversation has little or no effect on seating, then we can turn our attention to other important factors that do.

When. Studies that have investigated one or more dimensions of time and their relation to seating are classified under the word "when." In a study of how status is conveyed, two actors role-played various people who worked together in a large complex of offices (Burns, 1964). These role-plays were filmed, and audiences viewed the films and indicated their perception of the relative status of the two individuals. One scene showed the first actor knocking on the other actor's door. The actor playing the higher status individual took longer to rise from his seat and acknowledge the visitor than when the same actor played a lower-status individual. The audience was sensitive to this time difference and indicated their awareness of the fact that status increases as time to acknowledge the knock on the door increases.

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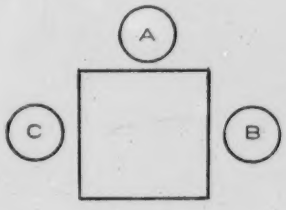
On a more anecdotal level, Hall (1959; 1966) has presented a number of intriguing analyses of people's use of space. Relative to the time dimension, he pointed out that when Americans travel to Asia (and in the author's experience, to the Pacific Islands), they have difficulty adjusting to the use of time in these other cultures. For instance, if a meeting is called at 2:00 p.m., newcomer Americans will start fidgeting in their chair at about 2:15 p.m., while the Asians and Pacific Islanders will sit and chat calmly as if nothing has happened. Americans who are accustomed to the system will also be calm, demonstrating that adjustment to different countries' use of time can be learned. A friend of the author's who had had extensive experience in the Pacific once told me a story about his early days on a Pacific atoll. A meeting had been called at 2:00 p.m., and he showed up at 1:45 p.m. (Benjamin Franklin is reported to have said that he owed a great deal of his success in life to being at the appointed spot 15 minutes beforehand.) People kept drifting in until 4:00 p.m. My friend said that he was going crazy at about that time and could hardly control himself. From these anecdotes it would appear that an index of acculturation (or culture learning) into a new country is to measure, at meetings, which people are sitting calmly and which people seem uncomfortable, constantly moving in their seats.

Another set of studies involving the time dimension have been designed to show the effects of various programs designed to increase favorable race relations or to reduce racial segregation. These studies analyzed seating patterns of Blacks and Whites in busses before and after ordinances preventing Jim Crow laws; the seating of Blacks in restaurants before and after a public information campaign; and Black-White seating patterns in a church before and after the church leaders made a conscious effort to welcome all parishoners regardless of race. These will be reviewed in a later section that deals with how seating can be used as in index of progress in various social intervention programs.

Where. Some studies of where people sit have already been covered under the earlier sections, especially the "who with" and "what doing" analyses. Studies reviewed there indicated that where a person sits can show liking for another, and that where a person sits is dependent upon the individual/collective nature of a decision to be reached, and a cooperative/competitive orientation. In these studies there was a manipulation of some sort engineered by the experimenter, for example, the instructions designed to instill a cooperative/competitive set. In other studies, there was no such manipulation at all but rather analyses of where people sit, in natural environments, given no instructions and indeed unaware that there was any kind of study in progress. Sommer (1969) directed a study in which recordings were made of where people sit in a large college cafeteria that was also used by students as a study area and as a meeting place. A distinction was made between people who were interacting and people who were at the same table but not interacting (each doing his or her "own thing"). Sommer's report of this study's results is one of the few places in his book where there is a confusing presentation, and so an attempt will be made to be clearer through the use of diagrams.

For the square tables, interacting pairs showed a strong preference for corner seating, as in the A-B arrangement pictured below. People who were not interacting with each other sat opposite one another, as in the B-C relation that is pictured. There was a difference for



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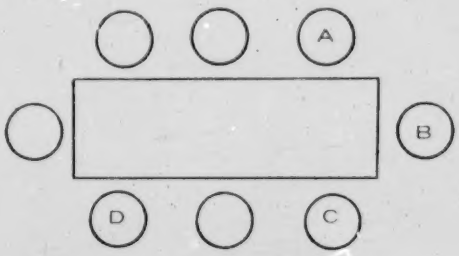
rectangular tables. Interacting pairs again preferred corner seating (e.g., A-B), but opposite seating (e.g., A-C) was also used often. The exact percentages were 54% corner, 36% opposite, 10% "other." People who were not interacting chose a seat so as to be distant from the other person at the table, as in the A-D relation that is pictured. With these results as background, it is perhaps not so surprising when we read in the newspapers that international negotiations involving several countries have been delayed because of deliberations over the shape of the table.



Why. When the relation between the psychological needs or motives of an individual are being discussed in relation to seating, then the "why" question arises. For instance, under the "who with" section the finding that people sit next to someone with similar attitudes was discussed, along with the finding that the closeness indicates liking. The motive underlying this behavior might be that when person A finds that person B has a similar set of attitudes, then person A is reinforced for holding those attitudes. People have a need to know about the world around them but there are many possible attitudes that a person can have that will help make sense out of the world. When person A learns that person B has similar attitudes, he is, in effect, being told that his attitudes are reasonable because someone else also holds them. Hence A is reinforced by B, comes to like him and shows this through such behaviors as where he sits.

Another analysis of motives comes from Sommer (1969) who found that people, when given free choice, choose to sit with their backs toward the wall. A motive for security was suggested since people can see more of what is going on in the room and cannot be approached from behind. This type of seating behavior has become part of American folklore. The story is told of the Western frontier marshall Wild Bill Hickock who always sat with his back to the wall while in saloons drinking or gambling. But one nite, while playing poker, he sat with his back to the door and was shot from behind by a coward that he never saw. He held 2 Aces and 2 Eights in the poker game, and this has become known as the "dead man's hand."

How. The exact posture a person assumes is the "how" of seating in this framework, and it has already been reviewed as part of the discussion of the results found by using factor analysis. To summarize quickly, physical closeness, eye contact, forward lean and orientation of torso toward another person indicates liking while the opposite of each element indicates disliking. An individual's symmetric positioning of limbs, straight body posture, and tenseness of hand or neck indicate interaction with a high status person, while the opposite of each element indicates interaction with a lower status person.

To conclude this section on the various findings about seating behavior, it seems very reasonable to assume that the place where people choose to sit, and the posture they assume while doing so, is a sensitive indicator of their feelings. Measures of seating behavior have proven useful in a variety of studies of liking between people, status relationships, feelings toward the situation in which people find themselves, and so forth. Since the basic research studies already reviewed have shown that seating behavior is a reliable and valid measure, it should be possible to use seating in applied settings that can have practical outcomes. Three examples of such use will now be reviewed, the first concerning racial integration, the second dealing with interviews for clinical or employment purposes, and the third involving arrangement of furniture so as to maximize interaction.

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Applied Use of Seating Behavior Measures

Racial integration: Three groups of researchers have used seating behavior as an index of change from the segregation of Black and White people in the United States as policies were established designed to change the situation to one involving more integration. In the first (Selltiz, 1955) the effects of activities sponsored by the Committee of Civil Rights in East Manhattan (CCREM), established in 1949, were assessed. This group decided that their first project should be practical and manageable, and so chose to focus on the limited goal of discriminatory policies against Blacks in public eating places. The group was skeptical of attitude scales that might be given to restaurant owners and so decided to actually visit restaurants and record the treatment given them. In June of 1950, both a Black and a White couple entered a test sample of 62 restaurants. Of course, the manager and workers in the restaurant did not know that they were in a study. Both couples were seated in all the restaurants, but in 42% of the restaurants the Blacks were clearly given inferior treatment. This took the form of seating in an undesirable location and poor service.

With this information as background, the CCREM started a campaign to encourage change. This included conversations with the officers of organizations which had restaurant owners and employees as members; pledges, signed by both organization officers and restaurant managers, that equal treatment would be given to customers regardless of race; visits to the restaurants in the first sample that discriminated and conversations with managers and owners; press releases explaining the results of the first test survey and the signing of the pledges; and CCREM member participation in five broadcasts over four radio stations.

To determine if change had occurred, another test sample (Number = 93) was selected in the Spring of 1952. Using the same technique of having Blacks and Whites visit restaurants, the results showed, again, that no one was refused seating and that the percentage of Black couples receiving inferior treatment dropped to 16%. Certainly the behavioral measure is a better indicator of program success than responses from restaurant owners to an interview or to an attitude scale. Partly because of their success in this venture, the CCREM later expanded its work to the field of public housing.

In another study, the effect of a federal court order, handed down on May 31, 1958, ending segregation of races of New Orleans' public transit busses was assessed. Prior to that date, all Blacks sat in the back of the bus and all Whites in the front. The survey was done in the Spring of 1964 to determine if the law had an effect or whether the old patterns remained (Davis, Seibert, and Breed, 1966). The results showed that there was some change, and that certain people were more likely to break the old pattern than others. In particular, young Blacks sat in the front of the bus more often than their elders, and Black females sat up front more often than Black males. This somewhat surprising latter finding was interpreted as showing that it was easier for females than males to change. It is more difficult for males to change their role since they are more visible members of their group in traditional society. If a public information campaign were to be started designed to make people aware of various laws outlawing segregation, these results would help to define the audience in a more precise manner since there were differences in behavior depending upon age and sex of the people involved.

In a third study, the effects of a policy designed to encourage racial integration in a church was assessed (Parker, 1968). The specific church was the first in the American Baptist Convention to adopt a policy of racial integration. Over an eight-month period, Parker made observations of seating patterns at both Sunday services and the church's Wednesday nite suppers and worship services. The results showed that those members who were highly involved in church activities engaged in behaviors very much in line with the policy of racial integration. There were no strong indications that the less active church members engaged in such behavior, although they did not necessarily segregate themselves, either. Parker concluded "that a remarkable amount of racial integration has been achieved (p. 365)." He suggested five reasons: (1) racial integration was practiced in the entire area (e.g., busses, stores) within which the church was located; (2) prejudiced people were free

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to drop out of the church; (3) the church drew from members of the middle and high socio-economic class, perhaps yielding a more educated, skillful group from which to draw leaders; (4) the ministers were exceptionally fine leaders; (5) the effect of similar interests and attitudes was evident. Expanding on this fifth reason, the results of the study indicated that integration was greatest when the various people came together to discuss areas of mutual interest, such as the Bible and other worship-related activities. Note that this finding is similar to that of Byrne and his colleagues (1971) and Brislin (1971) who found that similar attitudes lead to liking and consequently to behaviors such as close seating to another person. This analysis by Parker will hopefully prove generalizable to other settings in which change is desired.

Interviewing: The second applied use of seating behavior deals with interviews between two people, one with more status and power than the other, in both employment and clinical situations. In an employment interview study, Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) investigated the sociological concept of the "self-fulfilling prophecy." The concept refers to the phenomenon in which person A may believe something, perhaps false, about person B, and so person A then acts according to the belief. As a consequence, person B sees person A behave, and person B then acts in such a way as to confirm the belief. The prophecy is thus fulfilled. As an example, assume person A thinks, quite falsely, that person B is aggressive and dominant in meetings. Person A wants his position adopted, and so goes to a meeting and puts forth an aggressive, forceful presentation. He is afraid that if he doesn't act in such a manner, person B will win the argument. Person B wants his own position adopted, and after person A finishes, puts forth the alternative proposal in the same manner as person A. Person B is afraid that the dominant-sounding person will have the advantage. Hence the prophecy about person B is fulfilled.

In the employment interview study, White interviewers interacted with both White and Black job applicants. It was found that the Black applicants received differential treatment to comparison to the White applicants. Specifically, (a) the interviewers sat at a greater distance from the Blacks, (b) there were more interviewer speech errors, and (c) the interviews were of shorter duration. In an important follow-up study, interviewers were trained to behave according to points a, b and c (bad interviewers) or to behave according to the opposite of the three points, that is, close seating, few or no speech errors, and long interviews (good interviewers). Different job applicants in the second study, then, interacted with either a good or a bad interviewer. The results showed that those applicants who interacted with the bad interviewer judged the interviewer to be less adequate and friendly. In addition, the applicants remained at a long distance from the bad interviewer when given a chance to move their chairs. Finally, those applicants were judged to be less effective in their interviews by independent observers who did not know whether a good or a bad interviewer was working. Again, a prophecy was fulfilled. The interviewer behaved in a certain way, and the applicant behaved accordingly.

In a study investigating a similar phenomenon involving seating behavior and interviewing in a clinical setting, M. Boucher (1972) found a similar effect due to seating distance. The clinical setting refers to a situation in which there is a patient who wants help with a problem and a therapist willing to work with the patient to find a solution. Boucher demonstrated that those therapists who maintained a large seating distance during the interviews were rated by their patients as less friendly. As many forms of psychotherapy depend on a warm patient-therapist relationship, seating distance could have an effect on patients' progress.

People in charge of training interviewers can take advantage of this information. As the findings from the studies are stated in precise terms, it should be easy to incorporate them into the content of various interviewer training programs. Since the effects of the seating distance variable are clear, trainees should see its importance immediately.

Maximizing interaction. If we want to furnish a room so as to create the most opportunities for interaction, how should we proceed? This question has been the subject of research by Sommer (1969) and Mehrabian and Diamond (1971), and their findings will be

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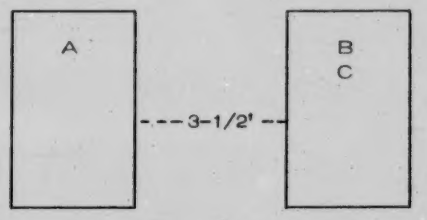
summarized. Even though their findings make sense, they are not due to common sense alone. Sommer mentioned some of the many blind alleys he entered during his search for an answer to the question. The first key point is that in the United States (but not all countries: Hall, 1959, 1966), people prefer a distance from another person (measured nose-to-nose) that averages five to five and one-half feet. This means that chairs or couches would be placed about three and one-half feet apart since people sit about one foot behind the front edge of a couch or chair. The distance between people would become smaller if one of the people has a strong need to affiliate with others, or as the people grow to like each other. The angle between people can very between 0^{o} (face-to-face) and 180^{o} (side-by-side) without making much difference on conversation, but the expressed preference is for the smaller angles. If two couches are placed according to the diagram, people will prefer to sit across from one another (as in the A-B relation) or at a slight angle (as in the A-C relation. Such an arrangement seems to allow the greatest chance for interaction among people who do not know each other. The arrangement is similar if 2 chairs are substituted for each couch.



Such an arrangement of furniture would be a good start at answering the question of how to maximize interaction among people. However, not enough is known about people's use of space to say that such-and-such an arrangement will work in all settings. It is best to adopt an experimental attitude, changing the furniture occasionally and recording people's interaction. In addition, Sommer points out that not all of an institution's or organization's problems are going to be solved by rearranging a few chairs. The total setting, of which furniture is only a part, has to be studied.

Cross-Cultural Applications

Compared to most extensions of concepts and methods in the behavioral and social sciences, recommendations become very tentative when considering the realm of cross-cultural studies. Researchers have a tremendous task just to document the influences on and effects of a behavior like seating in their own culture without being asked to worry about a culture other than their own. Since such warnings have happily not kept researchers away from cross-cultural studies, a few suggestions will be put forth.

It may be helpful to point out the potential impact of cross-cultural studies through an application of seating analysis of the type covered in the section immediately above. In some cultures people are required to avoid any close contact with certain relatives. Elkin (1945) has pointed out the relevance of this fact to the education of Aboriginal Australians in schools patterned after those of the United States or Europe. The sensitive teacher will keep in mind that certain children cannot sit next to certain others, and so will plan the seating chart accordingly. Understanding of this simple fact can have profound implications for a teacher's classroom performance.

As a research tool, seating analysis has been suggested as a good cross-cultural method since it is observable, unobtrusive, and does not demand such time consuming efforts as translation, as would verbal instruments (Sommer, 1969). It is easy to be sympathetic with such a viewpoint, especially after studying the tremendous amounts of effort needed for cross-cultural validation of verbal instruments (Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike, 1973), and yet there is danger involved. First of all, choosing a method because of its convenience

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is a poor tactic. The purpose of a method should be to serve the researcher's prime purpose of discovering something important about human behavior, and hence the method should be the slave of the researcher, not the master. Overconcern with the method, especially an inherently interesting one like seating, can lead to research of no real substance. Secondly, it is debatable that a behavioral measure like seating demands no "translation." If the "no translation" view is accepted, the assumption is being made that seating carries the same meaning in all cultures, a position that cannot be accepted with the evidence presently available. Translation is generally considered to involve the study of the meaning contained in a given verbal passage as presented in two or more languages. However, non-verbal behaviors like seating, or clapping, or gesturing also involve meaning that can differ from culture to culture.

With these caveats in mind, seating can be a useful cross-cultural tool. Factor analyses of seating behavior as one element along with other elements will be necessary to document the meaning of seating in various cultures. Investigations of substantive issues will be possible. It appears (Hall 1959, 1966; Berkowitz, 1971) that people in various cultures do indeed interact at a closer distance than people in other cultures. Further, people in some cultures have a greater tendency to interact with other people in open places in contrast to being alone. Findings in this study area have been tentative, however, and do not seem to have replicated well from study-to-study. Perhaps the lack of concern with what seating means from culture to culture has caused this non-replicability (which is the bane of progress in the social and behavioral sciences).

Going back to a point made in the beginning of this paper, seating is probably best viewed as one measure of behavior in a researcher's arsenal, to be complemented by other types of observations, both verbal and non-verbal. Dependence on one method will make research findings method bound, ungeneralizable to behavior beyond that precisely studied in a specific situation. Despite the range of situations in which seating analyses have yielded profitable results, as reviewed in this paper, this one measure is no exception to the general rule that multiple methods are the sine-qua-non of a good research project.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be pointed out that the results of the research were clearer for factor two (status) than for factor one (liking). Much of the support for the existence of factor one comes from Mehrabian's (1972b, p. 111) appeal to the consistency of the results and to the logic of his calling the elements part of a factor. This is in contrast to factor two, the nature of which follows directly from the research findings. There are two possible reasons for the lesser clarity of factor one. As indicated in the text, studies of standing and seating behavior have been combined in this review, and perhaps there are differences between the two behaviors that do not warrant such a combination. Another possibility is that Mahrabian studied average distance between communicator and addressee over a period of time, and he suggests (1972b, 1. 127) that perhaps the initial distance between communicator and addressee will prove to be more clearly related to liking.

2. The term "by chance alone" refers to a hypothetical process in which everyone would decide where they sit by drawing a random number out of a hat or checking a table of random numbers in a mathematical textbook. To decide if the actual seating pattern is indeed different from the hypothetical situation of people sitting based on chance alone, statistics are computed. All findings reported in this paper are based on the use of such statistics which investigated actual seating against chance seating, with the statistics showing the actual seating pattern was indeed different from chance. For details on the construction of two statistical indices especially designed for seating, see Campbell, Kruskal, and Wallace (1966) and Brislin (1971).

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HOLOGEISTIC STUDIES OF EDUCATION: A REVIEW

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Editor's Introduction

The paper by Precourt is based in large part on the use of the Cross-Cultural Survey Method, also called the hologeistic method. In very general terms, the method involves relating two or more variables as reported in ethnographies from all over the world. The number of ethnographies consulted is usually 100 or more. The social scientist using the method consults one of these original sources and records the ethnographer's comments about different variables, for instance, methods of child rearing and type of economy. There is then a coding procedure to put the observations into mathematical terms so that statistical analyses will be possible. The same variables are recorded for all the other ethnographies, and then they are interrelated to determine the degree of association among them. Some social scientists use the Hyman Relations Area Files (HRAF) which is a facility available at many large university libraries. The developers of HRAF have organized ethnographies into an easily-usable filing system either on paper or on microfilm, and they have noted where information about different variables can be found. Other social scientists prefer to search through the original ethnographies themselves to find the information they are looking for. Except for this step, the people using HRAF vs. original ethnographies engage in the same set of practices. The most sophisticated of the HRAF users, in fact, also consult original ethnographies since HRAF has not organized materials for all the world's societies on which there are records. The president of HRAF, Raoul Naroll, has often said that the files are only a start for a good cross-cultural study (see Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike, 1973, for more detail).

Author's Introduction

In this paper, I survey cross-cultural studies in education. The paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, I summarize the various studies by delineating the main theoretical variables, their interrelationships, and the interpretations of these relationships. I then present a brief overview of the main educational themes represented by the studies as a whole.

In the second part of the paper, I consider the cognitive theoretical models used in two of the studies. I discuss the general implications of these theoretical models for

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the analysis of cultural transmission generally, and give special attention to their potential use in cross-cultural analysis.

Summary of Cross-cultural Studies

The summaries below are grouped into four categories based on the nature of the study's variables and theoretical models.[1] Those listed in Category A all have an intrapsychic variable mediating between two or more sociological variables. They all conform to the same general causal paradigm of: maintenance system (socioeconomic) variables or social structural variables ⟶ psychological needs or problems ⟶ projective solutions (cultural institutions). The prototype of this model was advanced by Whiting and Child in Child Training and Personality (1953).

Category B studies use what can be termed "modal personality" variables, another form of intrapsychic variable. Most of these studies can also be subsumed within a single causal paradigm, somewhat different than that of Category A. This paradigm starts with a socio-economic variable and ends up with a certain form of adult modal personality. Usually there is also an intervening variable of child training practices, although in most cases the child training variable is not explicit. The general causal paradigm for these studies is as follows: maintenance (socio-economic) variables ⟶ child training practices ⟶ adult personality. Only in one case is there a clear exception. This is in Barry's (1957) article on the relationship between child training and pictorial arts. In this study, adult modal personality is considered causal in respect to certain art styles.

Category C consists of studies using sociological models and variables. It can be noted that each of these studies is unique in that there is no general causal paradigm within which the studies can be subsumed. Therefore, with regard to causality, each study is considered separately.

Category D includes the two cross-cultural studies that include in them what I have termed cognitive theoretical models. Each is entirely distinct in regard to causality and theoretical orientation, therefore, they are considered separately.

Two studies, Brown (1963) and Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) are included in more than one category since each of these studies entails more than a single theoretical model.

Category A: Studies Using a Mediating Intrapsychic Variable

1. Brown (1963): A cross-cultural study of female initiation rites.

   Variables and Causality:

   Exclusive mother/child sleeping arrangements & patrilocal residence ⟶ Sexual identity conflict ⟶ Female initiation ceremonies

   Function: To resolve sexual identity conflict induced by sleep arrangements and residence pattern, i.e., to make girl accept role as female.

2. Burton and Whiting (1961): The absent father and cross-sex identity.

   a) Variables and Causality:

   Mother/child exclusive sleeping arrangements and patrilocal residence ⟶ Sexual identity conflict ⟶ Male initiation ceremonies

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Function: Initiations function to resolve sex identity conflict because of identity both with mother's role and adult male role, i.e., to make boy accept his role as male.

b) Mother/child exclusive sleeping arrangements and matrilocal residence → Female identification → Couvade

Function: Because boy continues to identify with females, the culture provides a custom, the couvade, for the man to act out a female role.

3. Herzog (1962): Deliberate instruction and household structure: A cross-cultural study.

As a preface to listing the variables and causality, I shall present Herzog's definitions of the three types of direct instruction.

Type I: Deliberate instruction by kin, with or without change of residence.
Type II: Deliberate instruction by non-kin, without change of residence required.
Type III: Deliberate instruction by non-kin, with change of residence required.

Variables and Causality:

General pattern: Household type → psychological need → type of instruction.

a) Mother/child household → identity with mother → Type III instruction

Function: Type three instruction, usually initiations, serve to break boy's identity with females.

b) Extended household → envy of infant role → Type II instruction

Function: Break child infant identity so he can assume adult role.

c) Nuclear household (societies of low complexity) → built-in achievement → Type I or no instruction

Function: Since the child has a built-in motivation to achieve, there is no necessity for instruction outside of the home, and in some cases, there is no need for instruction at all.

d) Nuclear household (societies of high complexity) → Achievement motive and infant envy → Type II instruction

Function: A mechanism is needed, Type II instruction, to break infant identity; also, child needs an outlet for his high achievement motive. This is also provided by Type II instruction.

4. Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962): Child training and game involvement.

Variables and Causality:

General pattern: child training practices → psychological conflict → games

Obedience training → conflict over obedience → games of strategy
Responsibility training → conflict over responsibility → games of chance
Achievement training → conflict over achievement → games of physical skill

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Function: Generally, games provide a psychological outlet for certain anxieties one picks up as part of the socialization practices of a society.

5. Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony (1958): The function of male initiation ceremonies at puberty.

Variables and Causality:

Exclusive mother/child sleeping arrangements (this is caused by the post partum sex taboo) → Oedipal rivalry and dependency on mother → initiation ceremonies

Function: Initiations serve to break mother dependency and prevent flagrant mischief that would be the result of the young lad's hostility to his father and others in his social environment.

Category B: Studies Using a Modal Personality Variable

1. Barry (1957): Relationships between child training and the pictorial arts.

Variables and Causality:

Modal personality → art styles
Modal personality → socialization practices

Function: Art styles serve as projective mechanisms for certain personality types.

2. Barry, Bacon and Child (1957): A cross-cultural survey of some sex differences in socialization.

Variables and Causality:

General: Sex differences in economic and social roles → Personality differences between sexes

a) Male economic and social role → personality emphasizing self-reliance and achievement

Female economic and social role → personality emphasizing nurturance, responsibility and obedience

Function: In order for males and females to carry out their respective economic and social roles (which are essentially universally different), they have certain personality types.

b) Large family group → high sexual differentiation in adult modal personalities

Function: With a large family group, there are many adult males and females available in the same household and, therefore, there is rarely a need for a male to assume a female's role and vice versa. Thus, adult modal personalities in respect to sex can remain highly different.

c) Nuclear family alone → low sexual differentiation in adult modal personality

Function: It is sometimes necessary for a male to assume a female role and vice versa when the female is absent or disabled; this is because there are no other females available, leaving only the adult male for this purpose. Adult personalities are not highly differentiated because of the need for this occasional role overlap.

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3. Barry, Bacon and Child (1959): Relation of child training to subsistence economy.

Variables and Causality:

General pattern: subsistence pattern → adult modal personality

a) High accumulation societies → personalities characterized by obedience and responsibility

Function: Because of the relatively stable economic conditions of high accumulation societies, it is necessary to have individuals that are not overly assertive, but conform to the accepted pattern, carrying out their responsibilities, etc.

b) Low accumulation societies → personalities characterized by achievement, self-reliance and independence

Function: Societies with low accumulation economies are relatively unstable and require that society members are innovative, etc., thus, insuring a food supply in uncertain economic circumstances.

4. Rohner (1970): Parental rejection, food deprivation, and personality development.

Variables and Causality:

General pattern: child training practices → adult personality characteristics

Parental rejection → selfishness, unrelatedness, emotional detachment, passivity, dependency, and feelings of worthlessness

5. Romney (1965): Variation in household structure as determinants of sex-typed behavior.

a) High accumulation societies → absence of father from household → women teaches children compliance

→ adult modal personalities are characterized by compliance

Function (explanation): Since females are universally compliant, when they assume the primary role of teacher because of father's absence, the children will grow up to have compliant personalities.

b) Low accumulation societies → presence of father in household → father teaches children assertiveness →

adult modal personalities are assertive

Function (explanation): Since males are universally assertive, when present in household, they will teach children assertiveness, causing them to have adult personalities that are assertive.

Category C: Causal Models Using Essentially Only Sociological Variables

1. Brown (1963): A cross-cultural study of female initiation rites.

Variables and Causality:

a) Female remains in natal household after marriage → female initiations

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Function: To announce status change from girl to woman.

b) Female has important role in subsistence economy ⟶ female initiation

Function: Demonstrate female competence to fulfill her future obligation and impress upon her the importance of her role.

2. Cohen (1964): The establishment of identity in a social nexus: The special case of initiation ceremonies and their relation to value and legal systems.

Variables and Causality:

It is difficult to determine clearly his causal chain but it seems to go something like the following:

Joint legal liability ⟶ descent group social-emotional anchorage ⟶

initiation ceremonies, brother/sister avoidance and extrusion

Several (individual) liability ⟶ nuclear family social-emotional anchorage ⟶

initiations not present, B/S avoidance not present and extrusion not present

Function: There is a need for some form of social-emotional anchorage with one's descent group and the form of this anchorage is determined to some degree by the form of legal liability present in the society. If legal liability falls with all members of the descent group, anchorage will be with the descent group. If it falls only with the individual, then anchorage will be with the nuclear family.

3. Harrington (1968): Sexual differentiation in socialization and some male genital mutilations.

Variables and Causality:

circumcision ⟶ high sexual differentiation

superincision ⟶ low sexual differentiation

Function: Harrington does not explain these relationships according to any specific theory; he considers several alternative explanations dealing both with psychological and sociological factors.

4. Young (1962): The function of male initiation ceremonies.

Variables and Causality:

Male solidarity groups ⟶ initiation ceremonies

Function: Sociological need for stabilization of male's sex role and inculcation of male solidarity.

Category D: Studies Using Cognitive Theoretical Models

1. Levine (1960): The role of the family in authority systems; A cross-cultural application of the stimulus generalization theory.

The main hypothesis is that the family will be used as a model for political activity in culturally homogeneous societies with similarities in family and political linguistic categories and structures.

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The theory upon which the hypothesis is based is the Stimulus Generalization Theory which can be stated as follows: the more a new stimulus is perceived as being equivalent to a previously conditioned stimulus, the greater the similarities of the response elicited by the new stimulus to the previously conditioned response. Using the theory and the hypothesis in the present study, the following statement of causality can be made:

Cultural homogeneity and similarity in family and political environment → Stimulus generalization regard to political activity

This study says essentially that in certain societies the structure of the family represents a cognitive model for political activity.

2. Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962): Child training and game involvement.

The main part of Roberts' paper was concerned with intrapsychic variables which were considered elsewhere. In addition, Roberts and Sutton-Smith consider a cognitive modeling theory in relationship to games. Since it appears that the implication of the cognitive modeling theory is relevant to cultural transmission in general, I shall consider it here. The following quote perhaps best summarizes the cognitive modeling theory as used by Roberts and Sutton-Smith:

> ...each game is a microcosmic social structure in which the polarities of winning and losing are variously represented. The individual in conflict is attracted to a model because he can find in it a codification of the emotional and cognitive aspects of his conflict, which is unavailable to him, at his level of maturity in full-scale cultural participation. What he learns from the games are the cognitive operations involved in competitive success. These cannot be learned by young children in full-scale cultural participation. They can be learned only through models, whether games or models of other types. (1962:183)

It is evident that the cognitive modeling theory provides a useful model for conceptualizing and analyzing cultural institutions as mechanisms for cultural transmission, especially in terms of hidden curriculum.[2] More attention will be given to this subject in the last part of this paper.

I shall now summarize the cross-cultural studies in light of their variables, the intercorrelations between these variables, and the theories advanced to explain these intercorrelations. Considering both the intrapsychic and sociological studies, it is evident that a major theme pervades most of the studies: the theme is sexual differentiation in adult role and personality. The sex role distinction is implicit in most modal personality studies (see Barry, Bacon and Child 1957 & 1959; Romney 1965) and is the main concern of studies dealing primarily with sociological variables (see Brown 1963; Young 1961; and Harrington 1968).

Another common theme which underlies several of the studies is the idea of a "generation problem;" that is, problems entailed in successfully articulating the child with the adult world -- making him grow up. This seems to be the major concern with Herzog's 1962 article and with most of the other studies that utilize mediating intrapsychic variables (those in Category A). For example, an underlying concern of Whiting's (1958) study and Burton and Whiting's (1961) study, is that a child must break out of his world of childhood fantasy and become an adult.

Another less common theme is the relationship between household organization and economic structure on the one hand, and type of education and adult role differentiation, on the other.

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Suggestions for Future Hologeistic Research on Education

LeVine (1960) deals with the stimulus-generalization theory. In his application of this theory, he touches on what amounts to a theoretical model for dealing with hidden curriculum. If, as LeVine argues, the family is a model for political participation in the wider society, other cultural institutions might be seen from a similar perspective. Indeed, in a sense, the notion of stimulus-generalization is very close to the theoretical model I use for explaining initiation ceremonies.[3] I argue that the differentiating/non-differentiating aspects of these ceremonies function to articulate one to the wider society in incipient stratified and egalitarian societies, respectively. This parallels closely the notion that an initiation inculcates a cognitive model for participation in the wider society. The examination of many cultural institutions in light of this general approach may reveal many similarities between structural elements of certain cultural institutions and aspects of the wider society. Such structural similarities may provide cognitive guidelines for participation in the wider society.

Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) deal with a theory that is similar in some respects to LeVine's, the cognitive modeling theory. While Roberts and Sutton-Smith consider cognitive models as mechanisms for dealing with emotional conflict, it is fairly easy to also consider them in terms of hidden curriculum. It will be useful to quote Roberts and Sutton-Smith on their application of the cognitive modeling theory to the cultural function of games. As they state:

> The theory implies (1) there is an overall process of cultural patterning whereby society induces conflict in children through its child-training process, (2) society seeks through various models to provide an assuagement of these conflicts by an adequate representation of their emotional and cognitive polarities in ludic structure, and (3) through these models, society tries to provide a form of buffered learning through which the child can make enculturative step-by-step process toward adult behavior. (1962:183)

It is evident that the cognitive modeling theory goes a step further than the stimulus generalization theory in elucidating the educational functions of certain cultural institutions. If games and other cultural activities are seen as representing degrees of cognitive modeling of society, they can at the same time be seen as institutions for hidden curriculum. In fact, one's entire learning experience can be construed as a career in cognitive modeling. For according to Roberts and Sutton-Smith, as one approaches maturity, and thus as one approaches full-scale cultural participation, the cognitive models one acquires through participation in various institutions and activities become nearer in nature to the reality they copy; that is, the 'real' structure of society. Thus, the culture's institutions and activities in which the child participates cognitively can be seen essentially as the sum total of the cognitive models one utilizes. If societal participation can be scaled from low to high, one gradually becomes better adapted or more articulated to society as one's cognitive models become more synonomous with the actual structural dimensions of the society. Indeed, this is not saying that there is some intrinsic level of 'perfect' or 'real' societal participation, but it suggests that some cognitive 'fits' are more appropriate or adaptive than others in terms of adult participation in the society.

Considering this theory in terms of its general relevance for cross-cultural research, it suggests a basis for seeing various cultural institutions in light of their functional necessity in particular societies as mechanisms for cultural transmission. Since the theory argues that certain cultural institutions or activities represent microcosms of the wider society in that they represent cognitive modeling structures, it could be hypothesized that certain institutions would be correlated with certain other institutions or with certain general societal types for this purpose. Furthermore, this provides a model to cross-culturally analyze socio-structural variables and cognitive states without relying on mediating intrapsychic variables. It would seem that this may be especially useful for

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investigating cognitive development through use of an encounter profile of a society,[4] since it might be hypothesized that certain recurring culturally prescribed encounters would serve to inculcate certain cultural adaptive cognitive mappings through cognitive modeling.

FOOTNOTES

[1]I have attempted to present as clear and concise a picture as possible of the various theoretical models and causal paradigms. Unfortunately, it has been necessary to condense often complicated arguments into relatively brief and simple causal statements. Furthermore, it has sometimes been necessary to omit certain causal statements. It is not my intention to slight any of the fine studies reviewed here, and I apologize for any oversimplifications or omissions.

[2]Hidden curriculum is a notion entailed in a general cross-cultural theory of cultural transmission, being developed by the Project in Ethnography in Education; State University of New York at Buffalo; Frederick O. Gearing, Director. Hidden curriculum deals with learning as it sorts, directs and censors perception in ways that articulate a person to the structure of a particular cultural system. The term "hidden" is used because this form of education usually occurs outside of the conscious awareness of those involved in an educational encounter. As such, it is not often thought of as part of standard teaching curriculum.

[3]The theory on initiation ceremonies was advanced in a paper "Initiation Ceremonies and Secret Societies as Educational Institution: A Cross-Cultural Study," presented at the Conference on the Interface Between Culture and Learning in Honolulu, Hawaii, January 28 - February 4, 1973. Published in R. Brislin, S. Bochner, & W. Lonner (Eds.), Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Learning. Berverly Hills, Calif.: SAGE Publishers, 1974.

[4]An encounter profile, an analytical construct being developed by the Project in Ethnography in Education; State University of New York at Buffalo, deals with mapping the educational context. A society's entire educational system is made up of a set of discrete educational encounters. An encounter profile attempts to map a society's educational system in terms of its recurring educational encounters. It assumes that through an informed sampling of educational encounters, the educational system as a whole can be described.

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THE TRAINING OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS: A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

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The year 1975 provides one of the periodical milestones which remind us to assess our progress over the past quarter-century and tempt us to guess at future developments up to the symbolic date of the year 2000. In the realm of teacher training for foreign languages, including the training of teachers of English as a foreign language, the existence of a number of potentially exciting educational ideas has led some people to ask such questions as these: by the year 2000, will languages still be taught by teachers?--to pupils organised in classes? --according to techniques which we would recognise today? Or will the individual learner take his learning at his own time and pace from a system of advanced teaching technology, i.e., a teaching machine? In short, will the language teacher be redundant by the end of the century?

Behind such questions lie a number of trends: the rapid spread of English as an international lingua franca; ideas of 'de-schooling' and similar movements of dissatisfaction with the conventional school, at least in the form which it often takes in large cities; criticism of the effectiveness of conventional school language teaching courses in some countries; a change of emphasis from the techniques of the teacher to the strategies of the learner; suggestions that learners are in fact capable of better and faster learning than they are able to achieve within present teacher-learning frameworks; the encouragement of the use of learners (at all ages) to teach each other; the dislike of an 'authoritarian' attitude to teaching and a search for methods--such as problem-solving, discovery procedures, etc.--which emphasize learning capability rather than teaching capability; the invention of 'teaching systems' and 'learning systems' in which ingenious equipment and specially-prepared materials take the place of the conventional teacher in his traditional classroom. These ideas, and many others, lead some people to believe that an era of major educational change is upon us and will come to pass in the next quarter-century.

In order to lead us towards a better guess as to what is actually possible in the practical circumstances of particular countries, the discussion needs to take account of two vital but quite different kinds of arguments: the first kind of argument is in a sense intellectual, and embodies questions of educational philosophy, attitudes towards language teaching, developments in educational technology, and the acceptance of a body of principles for teacher training; the other kind of argument is basically pragmatic and economic, and it determines how educational advances are related to a country's general level of affluence and economic development.

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a) The Intellectual Arguments

i) Developments in Educational Philosophy

By the year 2000 the prevailing philosophy of education, in Western Europe and North America at least, will contain (among others) four major elements: concern for the individual; disapproval of authoritarianism; the expectation of lifelong education; a sophisticated theoretical learning-teaching model of education in general and of subject-teaching--including language teaching--in particular.

Already the notion of individualization in education is becoming widespread in education: its intention is not to provide a separate one-pupil class for each learner, but to ensure as far as possible that the particular needs of each individual--his mental and emotional age, his temperament, his social and cultural development, his preferred rate of learning, his potentiality as an individual--are met. All this represents a major change in the focus of educational attention, and it will take many years to work out realistic and effective ways of putting these ideas into practice.

Similarly, in Western Europe and North America there exists already a climate of anti-authoritarian opinion, against the conventional idea of the teacher as the figure of authority, casting his pearls before the submissive learner. The pupil, too, is an individual, no less to be respected than the teacher; education must now discover how teaching and learning may be conducted without invoking power-relationships between teacher and learner that may be harmful to the personalities of both.

Lifelong education, too, is an exciting new commitment in Europe, as yet far from being fully realized. By the year 2000 it will be taken for granted over most of Western Europe that every individual citizen will be able to call on a range of further educational facilities from time to time throughout his life, instead of assuming that organised learning stops forever when he leaves school at age 16.

The fourth of these developments is going to provide for education, and more especially for instruction, a theoretical basis. For several years, language teachers have been placed in an allegedly inferior position compared with their professional colleagues in linguistics and psychology, on the grounds that whereas these two disciplines have developed for themselves highly-sophisticated theoretical models that aid in understanding their fundamental nature, language teaching by contrast has remained a craft, without well-elaborated theoretical foundations. But recently there have been signs of rapid progress in this direction. In Europe, Canada and the United States, a number of specialists have proposed versions of a 'theory of language learning and language teaching,' indicating what are the fundamental elements of the process and how they are inter-related.[2]

We need to realize that these four developments in educational philosophy which we have mentioned above relate very strongly to a particular cultural outlook on education--roughly, that which is shared by Europe, North and South America, and the Soviet Union. In societies with strong traditions of quite different learning-habits (for example, in societies which rely on the guru or his equivalent) it may prove difficult for these philosophical ideas to gain acceptance. And indeed, we should not assume that these ideas, being Western, are automatically superior. It may well be that by the year 2000 we shall understand better than we do today the relative merits and disadvantages of cultural philosophies other than our own, and be ready to consider making use of ideas from outside our present cultural tradition.

ii) Changes in Attitudes towards the teaching of languages. Fifty years ago almost the only justification for teaching a language was in order eventually to be able to study literature written in that language. Today this has become a comparatively rare

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reason, at least as far as pre-university education is concerned. In its place there has arisen the more pragmatic justification that certain languages are useful for the citizen. His aim--or at least, the aim set on his behalf by the public will as manifested through a national educational system--is to acquire some degree of practical command of the language, largely unrelated to the study and appreciation of literature. The objectives of language teaching are to enable the young citizen to use English (or French, Russian, Spanish, German, etc.) as a tool: as a vehicle for comprehension or communication; or as a window on to the modern trans-national world of science, technology, information, entertainment, art or ideas; or for quite specific and restricted needs in his occupation.

This change of attitude can be interpreted as a move away from culture-dependence in language teaching. When we look closely at the underlying purpose of teaching languages so as to study literature, it becomes clear that it was not because (in the case of English) students would enjoy in Dickens' novels a number of rattling good stories, or because Wordsworth's poems would give purely aesthetic pleasure, but because these and other works of English literature are held to embody fundamental moral, social and intellectual values of British culture. In an era when many countries have broken free from colonial tutelage and have begun to develop or re-develop a cultural identity of their own, it was inevitable that the teaching of languages should be desired in a form that increasingly frees itself from dependence, in its choice of texts, upon the precise cultural values of the former colonial masters. This is a complex question which arouses deeply-held passions for and against particular points of view, and I certainly do not wish to suggest that the teaching of foreign languages for the eventual study of literature is 'wrong.' What is difficult to defend is the 'package deal' offering, in which the only foreign language teaching available is mounted on the vehicle of literary studies. Now that literature is no longer the ultimate aim in most pre-university language teaching, it seems likely that the teaching of literature will be more strongly taught, to students for whom this is indeed a desired and genuine interest.

When the eventual aims were literary, the beginner learned the language with the aid of language courses whose sterotype often embodied the domestic life of an English family, perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Jones, their children Jane and Tom, and their dog, Spot. The everyday activities of these characters, which formed the matrix of the learner's experience of the language, pre-figured the cultural attitudes and values of the later study of literature. Nowadays, with the eventual study of literature no longer dominant, two quite distinct attitudes are encountered on the part of overseas authorities, towards the embodiment of language material in a framework of day-to-day British domestic behaviour. One such attitude is that the foreign learner of English does indeed wish to gain some superficial knowledge of British (or American) life and customs, and that therefore Mr. and Mrs. Jones and their dog, Spot, are acceptable as central characters. The other attitude is that the foreign learner has little or no interest in the British or American way of life, since what he seeks is a communication tool for use within his own cultural framework. It would be cynical and untrue to suggest that the reaction to this view on the part of many textbook writers is simply to convert Mr. and Mrs. Jones into Mr. and Mrs. Chang, or Patel, or Otu--the dog is generally suppressed--but the fact remains that in the adaptation of teaching materials to suit the new attitudes the English domestic model dies hard.

One consequence of the reduction in culture-dependence is a somewhat less rigorous attitude towards "nativeness" of performance on the part of the learner. There has always been a difference in this respect between the 'second language' and the 'foreign language' situation: when English has a special place in the courts, or is the medium of instruction in some sections of the school system, and in general occupies a special position of prominence and preference, it is known as a second language; when it has roughly the same status in the community as any other language not indigenous there, it is called a foreign language. On the whole, teachers of English as a second language (ESL) expect to achieve rather higher overall standards of communicative skill, but they also tend more readily to accept deviations from native-speaker

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performance (such as local accents). In the foreign language situation, although overall standards actually achieved are somewhat lower, the standards aimed at continue to be those of being "native-like." However, as communicative ability increasingly becomes the object and justification of learning and teaching a language, the criterion of success is whether communication takes place, and not whether the communicator sounded (or wrote) like a native Englishman or American. It seems likely that this tendency away from being native-like will spread: certainly it is consonant with the reduction in direct dependence upon British or American--or any other native English-speaking--culture.

A further change of attitude, originating in this case from psycholinguistic studies of the child's acquisition of his mother tongue, will probably contribute to changes in the language teaching classroom. The change of attitude referred to here concerns the 'errors' which the learner makes in the course of his learning. Conventionally, errors have been regarded by teachers as shortcomings on the part of the learner, to be corrected with varying degrees of severity according to the teacher's judgment of whether the learner was being forgivable, or careless, or delinquent, in making the error in the first place. Now, however, studies of the process by which the infant acquires its mother tongue, and parallel studies of the process of learning a foreign language, suggest very strongly that 'errors' may in fact be indications of progress on the part of the learner and not indications of delinquency. It seems likely that, as he progresses from zero accomplishment in the direction of native-like command of the language, every learner passes through a similar sequence of stages of development, and that this is due to the capacities and limitations of the human brain as a language-learning device.

The hypothesis runs like this: (i) suppose that the normal developmental sequence of grammatical command of English by a young child learning it as his mother tongue may be represented by a sequence such as the following:

DADDY GO -- DADDY GO OFFICE -- DADDY GONE OFFICE --
DADDY GONE TO OFFICE -- DADDY'S GONE TO OFFICE --
DADDY'S GONE TO THE OFFICE.

(ii) Then the sequence of grammatical command of English by any learner, child or adult, learning English as a foreign language, will follow a roughly similar sequence. (iii) Therefore 'deviant' forms such as DADDY GO OFFICE are not shortcomings of behaviour on the part of the learner but are manifestations of the best he can do at that particular stage in his development.

Of course there is much more to the argument than that. Experienced teachers react to the above hypothesis by immediately recognizing an element of truth in it, but at the same time realizing that every learner also makes 'errors' which can be shown to be mis-learnings, forgettings, wild and inaccurate guesses, etc. For the purpose of this article, which is concerned with probable developments in teaching and teacher training, the importance of the current discussion is that it may force upon teachers a realization that the commission of errors is not necessarily a justification for accusing the learner of not learning properly: on the contrary, they may actually be evidence that his learning progress is on its best possible track--milestones on the road to perfection, rather than delinquencies to be punished by the teacher.[3]

iii) Developments in Technology

If the past twenty-five years has been chiefly remarkable, in the realm of teaching technology, for the introduction of the tape recorder, the language lab and audio-visual methods, the next quarter-century is likely to produce a further range of techniques based on the cheap video-tape cassette. The teacher-trainer will have at his command yet another tool whose effective use (and disadvantages) he will need to explain to the trainee. But like the language lab, sophisticated videotape techniques are likely to remain on the fringe of language teaching--icing on the cake, as it were--rather than

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become basic teaching methods for the average teacher. And in the realm of technological sophistication lies a great gap between affluent countries and those still working their way through early stages of economic development.

Although the use of expensive technology will not become universal, the incorporation in large-scale teaching courses of sound recordings and of visual illustrations such as slides and films, in addition to printed books, will probably become a normal and accepted shape of published materials. One reason for this is that the recordings can be produced in a variety of forms--gramophone records, spools of tape, cassettes--to suit different degrees of technological affluence, while visuals can similarly be offered as books, posters, wall-charts, film-strips, film-loops, films, videotapes, etc. Educators and publishers alike realize that it is not the multi-media themselves which do very much of the teaching, but that as time passes the expectations of teachers and learners become more sophisticated, and that the better teachers can often achieve better results from the more complex possibilities of multi-media courses.

What of programmed learning, another innovation of the recent past? It is true that the crude application of programming to language teaching produced few successful results, and many disasters. But two new factors will lead to renewed but more selective and delicate attempts to use PL. These factors are, first, the trend towards meeting the precise needs of the individual, and second, a growing demand for self-study materials. The first of these factors creates a requirement for additional, alternative, consolidation or extension teaching materials, some of which can be fully or partly programmed. The second, too, is certain to lead to the incorporation of some programmed segments, where they are appropriate, within a larger body of teaching materials.

Whatever the aids available to the teacher, his range of instructional techniques will be extended. In particular, teaching is going to make more and more use of the learners themselves as teachers, and to incorporate pupil-group techniques.[4] Already the first wave of publications making use of this technique is available[5] and others will certainly follow. Teacher training must prepare the teacher to use this technique successfully--and to know when conditions do not favour it.

iv) The Development of Principles in Teacher Training

It is remarkable how little literature exists on the basic, general principles of professional training for language teachers. The next quarter of a century will see the elaboration and general acceptance of such principles, perhaps along the following lines:

(i) Principles defining the parameters of the job for which a teacher is trained--for example, the individual qualities of the teacher; the individual and group characteristics of the learners he will teach; the nature of education and instruction in general and of teaching a language in particular; and the nature of the constraints which convert an ideal but unattainable programme into a realistic one.

(ii) Principles defining the crucial attributes of a teacher--e.g. his temperament and personality, his level of personal education, his command of the language he is teaching, and his skill as a teacher.

(iii) Principles defining the minimum elements of a teacher's training--the continuation of his personal education; his general professional training as a teacher and an educationist; the special training he needs as a teacher of language; and the imparting of a commitment on his part to keeping abreast of his profession.

(iv) Principles defining the components of the special training as a teacher of language--a component of practical skills (i.e. command of the language,

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facility in classroom techniques, and ability as a "manager of learning"); a component of information (i.e. about methodology, about the language he is teaching, about syllabuses in force and materials in use); and, when it is realistically possible, a component of theory (i.e. in linguistics, psychology and the theory of language teaching).

(v) Principles for training in practical skills--including acceptance of the idea that practical skills of teaching should be taught through practical involvement in teaching, including forms of apprenticeship.

(vi) Principles for achieving a realistic programme, by identifying constraints (e.g. shortage of time for training, absence of practice facilities, early stages of national development, etc.) and devising the best teacher training programme that can be achieved in particular conditions.

We have devoted considerable space to this selection of intellectual influences upon the nature of future teaching and teacher training, since developments in the philosophy of education, changes in attitudes towards the teaching of languages, developments in technology and the crystallization of principles of teacher training will make a decisive difference to future education. But will this difference be felt equally in all countries? To answer this question we must turn to arguments concerned with economic development.

b) The Economic Development Arguments

We began this paper by referring to 1975 as a milestone, and by looking ahead to guess what teacher training might be like in 25 years' time. One consequence of considering the year 2000 is that one realizes how close it is. Looking backwards for the same number of years takes us back to 1946: let us assume (in the absence of other indications) that progress in the future will be of the same order as progress in the recent past. Now let us assess the amount of progress since 1946--and immediately we encounter a basic problem of futurology in relation to language teaching. The rate of change, and even the nature of the changes themselves, has varied greatly from one country to another. There are some parts of the world where the teaching of languages has undergone a long series of radical developments and improvements in effectiveness, and where the training of teachers has changed in parallel. In some other areas changes have been few and trivial; while elsewhere the picture is somewhere between these extremes.

If we expect the future rate of change to mirror the past, we arrive at the disturbing prediction that those countries which have changed little in the past 25 years may not change very much in the next 25, either. The concertina will be pulled out even further than it is today.

What determines the rate of change in language teaching? It might seem at first sight that if we knew the answer to that question, and if the answer lay within the range of controllable variables, then it might prove possible to speed up the rate of progress of the countries which have changed least in the past. Then by the year 2000 all countries might have reached the same point of development in their teaching of languages and in the training of teachers. But in fact the most likely reason for the difference in rates of change is indicated by Beeby's analysis of the quality of education in developing countries[6], with language teaching displaying the same characteristics as education in general. If that is so, then it is unlikely that the reform of language teaching can progress at a noticeably faster rate than the reform of education as a whole, in a given national system.

Beeby's overall analysis suggests a progression through four stages: first, a "Dame's School" state of organisation, in which the teachers are ill-educated and untrained, and where the subject-teaching is narrow and unorganised, depending heavily on rote-learning; secondly, a stage of "Formalism", in which the teachers, though still poorly-educated, do receive some training, and the subject teaching follows rigid methods, using "one best method" and one authoritarian textbook; thirdly, a "Transition" stage, in which teachers

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are better-educated and trained, though not to the optimum extent, and the subject teaching becomes less restrictive, with more emphasis on meaning and less on memorisation; fourthly, a "Meaning" stage, where well-educated, well-trained teachers teach a more liberal syllabus, employ a variety of content and methods to suit the different needs of different pupils.

This model seems to me a realistic one: it would not be difficult to describe language teaching in every country in terms of these four stages; it seems unlikely that the development of language teaching in a given country can be separated from the development of its total educational system. In that case, our future predictions, if they are to be realistic, must assume that the training of language teachers rests on the basis of national educational development. And consequently it is necessary to assume the various intellectual trends discussed in earlier sections of this paper will reach full development only in those countries which are more responsive to educational change, i.e. those which have reached, or will reach during the coming twenty-five years, a higher level of economic affluence.

Nevertheless, even if it is necessary to place reservations on the generality of many of these developments, there remain a number of predictive guesses which it is reasonable to expect will apply to the bulk of teacher training everywhere: first, teachers will be more rigorously selected for training; second, courses will be longer in duration; third, teachers will have a higher level of personal education; fourth, the methods imparted will be more closely oriented to the needs of the individual pupil and less teacher-centred; and finally, teachers will be trained to expectations of greater effectiveness than they enjoy at present.

One particular issue which has generated a great deal of heat in recent years, and which will doubtless be resolved by the year 2000 is the relationship between language teaching on the one hand and the disciplines of linguistics and psychology on the other. As language teaching develops on its own theoretical bases, so the direct reliance of language teachers on linguistics and psychology will wane, or at least change. But a theory of language teaching will certainly incorporate components of linguistics and psychology in some shape or other, such that their relevance will be assured through a complex integration of ideas, rather than by the somewhat mystical and usually unargued proposition that all language teachers need to be trained in linguistics in order to be better language teachers.

We are in any case moving, it seems to me, towards a more delicate understanding of what is entailed in the learning and teaching of languages, and this understanding includes a realization that far from being a simple operation for which a simple, "unique best method" is appropriate, it is a process of considerable complexity where the specification of the most suitable teaching methods will depend on a large number of factors. It follows from this view that where language teaching is successful, at present, the success reflects a suitable "match" between the complex factors of the total learning-teaching situation, and conversely that where success is low it could be improved by a fuller understanding of all the main factors at work, and a more appropriate choice of methods.

The complexity of the total learning-teaching situation, and thus a model of the language learning-teaching process, includes at least the following elements: (i) the fundamental variables which affect the kind of learning and teaching that are appropriate (e.g. pupil age, the educational aims of the teaching, the standard of proficiency reached, etc.); (ii) a theory of education and instruction, of general learning and language learning, backed by a practical methodology and a range of teaching techniques; (iii) a set of principles for the construction and evaluation of syllabuses; (iv) a set of principles for the construction and evaluation of teaching materials; (v) a theory of testing, assessment and evaluation of achievement; (vi) a set of variables which limit or maximise the learner's success (e.g. quantity and intensity of instruction, the absence of impediments such as fatigue or noise or over-crowding, factors belonging to the learner, factors belonging to the teacher, the relevance of the materials, etc.); (vii) a set of principles regulating the educational policies and administrative decisions within which teaching is organised (e.g. starting age, class size, teacher supply, equipment, etc.); and not least (viii) a set of principles of teacher training as outlined above. The comprehensive theories of language

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teaching now being elaborated will by the year 2000 provide the profession with an integrated understanding of the interrelations between these elements.

The reader will have realized that my personal attitude towards teacher training in the year 2000 is one of tempered optimism. Languages will, I am certain, still be taught, because multilingualism will be a normal, expected quality of educated citizens. Teachers will still be facing classes, and will still be receiving training for their profession. And because the teacher trainers will have a much better theoretical understanding of the learning and teaching process, as well as a wider range of practical techniques, we can reasonably hope for greater effectiveness in teaching and learning.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This paper has its origins (although it has been almost totally re-written) in my article 'La formation des professeurs de langues' which appeared in a special issue entitled Vers l'An 2000 (Towards the Year 2000) of the journal Le Francais Dans le Monde, No. 700, October-November 1973. I am grateful to the Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center, Hawaii, and to its Director and staff, for the opportunity to prepare this and other articles.

[2] E.g. H.H. Stern: Directions in Language Teaching Theory and Research, Report delivered to the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Copenhagen, 1972, (forthcoming). R. Valette and R. Disick: Modern Language Performance Objectives and Individualisation. New York, Harcourt Brace. 1972. P. Strevens: 'Second Language Learning' in Language as a Human Problem, special issue of DAEDALUS, June 1973. B. Spolsky 'Educational Linguistics' in Educational Linguistics, Mouton (forthcoming). S.P. Corder: 'Linguistic theory in applied linguistics' Brussels, AIMAV, 1973.

[3] S. Pit Corder. 'The Significance of Learners' Errors.' IRAL., Vol 5, 1967.

[4] G. Dykstra: An Investigation of New Concepts in Language Learning. Report of Project No. HE-084. U.S. Office of Education. 1967. See also F. Johnson, cited in footnote 5.

[5] Francis C. Johnson: English as a second language: an individualized approach. Jacaranda Press. 1973.

[6] C.A. Beeby: The Quality of Education in Developing Countries. London, Oxford University Press. 1966. I am indebted to Mr. Kevin J. Smith, M.A., for useful discussion of Beeby's ideas and their relevance to this theme.

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THE PACIFIC AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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The purpose of this paper is to survey certain similarities and differences between bilingual education programs and problems in three widely separated parts of the world: the United States, the Pacific and Southeast Asia. While bilingual education is itself nothing new, the term bilingual education is new. The term is commonly used in two quite different senses: (1) in a general sense referring to any educational system which fosters bilingualism or in which bilinguals participate. In this sense, even a monolingual program, if the language it uses is not the home language of the students, is a bilingual program because it demands that the students become bilingual in order to participate in the system. (2) Bilingual education is often used in a narrower sense to mean the use of a vernacular language of a minority group introduced into the curriculum to counterbalance the language of the dominant culture. Implied in this second sense is a body of attitudes about the intrinsic value of the minority culture and the need for making the educational system more responsive to the needs and desires of members of the minority culture.

A further problem is that even though we limit our working definition of bilingual education to one or the other sense, there is still a great variety of educational programs covered by the term bilingual. The enormous diversity of systems that can be called bilingual is well illustrated by William F. Mackey's "A Typology of Bilingual Education," (Mackey, 1970). Mackey recognizes ten different "bilingual" curriculum patterns. The classification is based on the answer to five questions: (1) Does the school use a single or a dual medium of instruction? (The assumption behind Mackey's use of the term single is that it is different than the home language of the child). (2) Is the purpose of the bilingual schooling to assist the student in coverting from one medium of instruction to another, or is it to maintain both languages at an equal level? (3) Is the direction of the curriculum towards the language of the wider culture or towards the narrower culture (national versus regional, for example, or world-wide culture versus a strictly national culture)? (4) For those dual medium schools concerned with converting from one language to another, is the change abrupt and complete or is it gradual? (5) For those dual medium schools concerned with language maintenance, does the curriculum teach all subjects in both languages, or are some subjects taught only in one language and some in the other language? An example of the former would be concurrent simultaneous translation or the alternate days approach. An example of the latter would be a program in which science and math, say, were taught in one language, while social studies and language arts were taught in another language. These five questions enable Mackey to establish the following hierarchical scheme for classifying bilingual curriculums. (I have not always used Mackey's terms):

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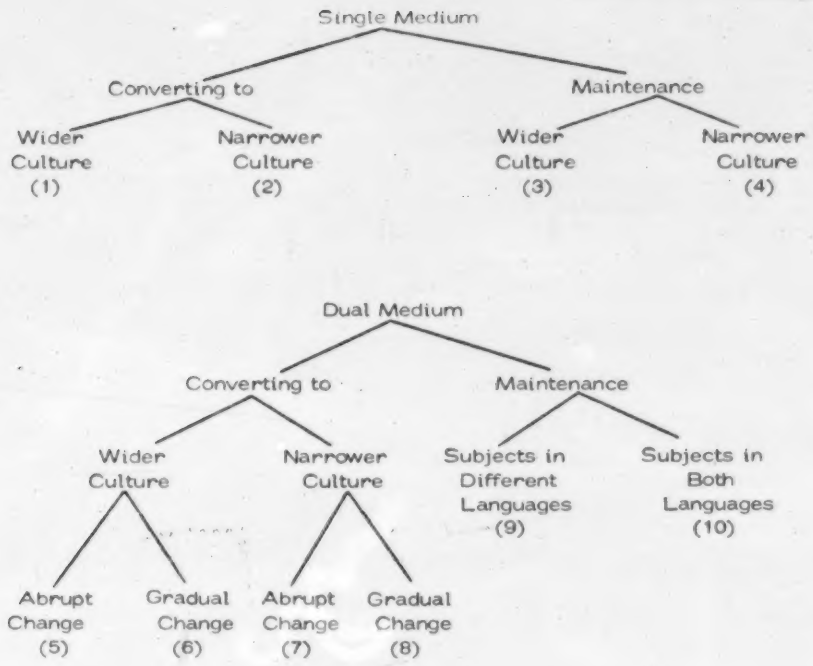

Figure 1

Here are the examples Mackey gives to illustrate the ten different types: (1) Single medium, converting to wider culture--"This type is common among schools attended by the children of immigrants; for example, the English medium schools of Italian immigrants in the United States" (Mackey, p. 600). (2) Single medium, converting to narrower culture--the home language in a mixed-language setting is used as the medium of instruction. "Examples of this may be found in the multiple cases of language transfer, along the borderlands of Europe, resulting from the reconquest of territory" (Mackey, p. 600). (3) Single medium, maintenance, wider culture--English medium schools for French-Canadians in western Canada where the home language (French) is taught as a subject, but is not a medium of instruction for other subjects. (4) Single medium, maintenance, narrower culture--the dominant language of the country is treated as a subject, but not used for teaching other subjects. Mackey gives the example of Gaelic language schools in the west of Ireland, to which might be added the reverse monolingual immersion programs (at least at the early grades) that have been tried out in the United States where English speaking children go to kindergarten and the early grades in a minority language. See, for example, Andrew D. Cohen's description of the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program (Cohen, 1974).

In the dual language programs, Mackey gives the following examples: (5 and 6) Dual medium, converting to wider culture, abrupt or gradual--a common type of bilingual system in colonized parts of the world. Children begin in a local language and then shift (abruptly or gradually) to a world language. Many examples can be found in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. (7 and 8) Dual medium, converting to narrower culture, abrupt or gradual--"In areas long dominated by a foreign language, the medium of instruction may

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revert to the language of the home, the foreign language being kept as a subject [but not as medium for other subjects]. Early Arabization of schooling in the Sudan illustrates this type" (Mackey, p. 601). (9) Dual medium, maintenance, subjects in different languages--"In maintaining two languages for different purposes, the difference may be established by subject matter, according to the likely contribution of each culture.... Bilingual schools in certain parts of Wales are of this type" (Mackey, p. 601). (10) Dual medium, maintenance, subjects in both languages--"It has been necessary--often for political reasons--not to distinguish between languages and to give an equal chance to both languages in all domains" (Mackey, p. 601). Mackey gives the examples of certain parts of Belgium, South Africa and Canada.

Bilingual Education in the United States

Bilingual education is becoming part of the American educational scene. Typically, bilingual programs have been established to meet the needs of ethnic minority groups. The programs have usually taken the form of either dual medium, converting to wider culture programs, or dual medium, maintenance programs. The former are assumed to assist the student in assimilation into the culture of the majority group, while the latter aims at producing a bicultural, bilingual individual who would ideally be able to move in either the majority or minority culture.

The development of dual medium bilingual programs has been greatly assisted by the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This Act banned discrimination based "on the ground of race, color, or national origin...[in]...any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (Section 601). The effect of this law was to bar, or threaten to bar, federal funds from any school district that denied students the right to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the same system. This of course, provided an incentive to school districts to develop programs to reach children not fluent in English, who patently could not enjoy the same education opportunities as English speaking children.

The establishment of dual medium bilingual educational systems to meet the needs of non-English speaking children was further facilitated by the passage of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), known as the "Bilingual Education Act." Title VII and other titles of ESEA have supported numerous pilot bilingual programs, teacher training in bilingual education, the development of bilingual materials, and research on bilingual education.

It has not always been this way. The United States is a country of immigrants. It has assimilated into its culture and language a greater number of people from a greater variety of backgrounds than any country in the world. Not too surprisingly, the schools have been an important force in the process of acculturation. The non-English speaking immigrants have all gone through a bilingual education system, what can be called a single medium, converting to wider culture bilingual program in Mackey's typology. Even though this type of system is bilingual in a technical sense, the end product is frequently monolingualism--the fate of most immigrant groups.

The fate of American Indians is not much different. Many Indians have a limited, passive knowledge of their native language, and many other have lost it entirely and have become monolingual speakers of English. In the not so distant past most schools for the American Indians could be classified as single medium, converting to wider culture systems. It was often felt by teachers and administrators that the school's basic task was to teach English and facilitate the assimilation of the students into the mainstream of American culture. Needless to say, these objectives were not always greeted with enthusiasm by the children and Indian community. One widely-noted consequence of this unilateral policy was a marked withdrawal of the Indian child from participation in the classroom. For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon, see the section, "The 'Silent' Indian Child" in Cazden, John and Hymes, 1972.

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Today there is a much greater concern for making education relevant to the needs and interests of Indian groups, particularly for those groups that have maintained a certain degree of cultural and linguistic autonomy. Many current programs aim at supporting the local language and culture by incorporating them as legitimate elements in the regular school curriculum by drawing on the local Indian community for teachers, by using the local language and culture in the classroom as much as possible, and by adjusting the whole modus operandi of schooling to make it more compatible with the traditional ways of learning in the children's culture. For an overview of current thinking about bilingual education for American Indians see "Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education," Center for Applied Linguistics, 1973, and "Report of the Task Force on Bilingual/Bicultural Education of the National Educational Association to the NEA Representational Assembly, May 1, 1974," National Educational Association, 1974.

This new direction in curriculum development is often termed bilingual education. Thus the term is being used in the second, narrower sense that was presented on the first page of this article. In Mackey's typology, the new orientation represents a shift from a single medium, converting to wider culture curriculum to a dual medium, maintenance curriculum.

Bilingual Education in the Pacific

The following comments on bilingual education in the Pacific will be limited to the situation in the central and western areas of the Pacific with which I am familiar through my experiences in working with participants in a Culture Learning Institute program in bilingual education, and to a lesser degree on my (limited) travels.

In Mackey's definition of the term, bilingual education has existed in the Pacific since the very beginning of formal education in the Western sense. Virtually without exception these schools, whether single medium or dual medium, have had the purpose of converting children from the vernacular as the medium of instruction to a world language (English, Spanish, French, German, Dutch or Japanese depending on the history of colonial contact) and aimed at presenting the wider culture of the colonial power, usually coupled with a denigration (intentional or unintentional) of the indigenous culture. Typically, the history of formal education in the Pacific would show a shift from a dual medium converting to wider culture curriculum in the early days to a single medium, converting to wider culture curriculum in more recent times.

The continual pressure towards converting from the vernacular to the world language and movement toward the wider culture from the indigenous culture, though both components of "bilingual" curriculums in Mackey's technical sense of the term, have continuously cut away at the status of the local language and culture. If the process continues unabetted, the end result is almost surely the disappearance of the local language and culture, as the fate of the language and culture of the Hawaiian people bears witness.

In many Pacific Islands the vernacular is used extensively in the schools but in an unplanned, incidental and often sub-rosa way. To educators in the Pacific, bilingual education means the recognition of the local language and culture as legitimate components of the school curriculum. In some places bilingual education in this sense is developing in a deliberate, planned way with overt support from education officials. In other places, however, there are only a few experimental classrooms without much, if any, official encouragement. And in some places, notably the islands under French colonial administration, even the word bilingual is taboo.

The successful establishment of a dual medium, maintenance bilingual curriculum depends on many things in addition to the goodwill of the educational establishment. One of the most important prerequisites for such a program is the development of extensive materials in the vernacular language. As an interesting (but not altogether encouraging) side comment, it seems to be accepted as a matter of course that vernacular education

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materials have to be written, not oral, materials. Nobody seems interested in the development of a rich, oral language vernacular program, though one would think that such a program would be much more in tune with traditional ways of cultural transmission. Clearly the western enshrinement of the written language as the main vehicle for anything that is to be taken seriously has become universal.

Every group of people in the Pacific that have had any extensive contact with Westerners have seen their own language reduced to some kind of writing system, usually by a missionary group. However, this by itself is seldom adequate as the basis for the vernacular component of a bilingual curriculum. While it would be unfair to dismiss all missionary efforts at establishing orthographies as the bumbling work of amateurs, most of them do leave something to be desired. For example, in Trukese, the traditional orthography gives one spelling, pos, for the following different words: pos "land, hit bottom," ppos "stabbed," pwoos "boss," ppwos "homesick," and ppós "steady, firm." The words poot "sweetfish," ppwét "scar" and pwéét "nose" are written as pot in the traditional orthography. (Goodenough and Sugita, 1972, p. 4).

Many Pacific Islands have been examining the utility of their traditional writing system (or systems--some islands have as many orthographies as persuasions of missionaries that established residency in the islands). The Trust Territory, for example, has commissioned extensive linguistic analyses of the main languages spoken in the Trust Territory and has supported the development of dictionaries and reference grammars for these languages. The speakers of these languages have established orthography committees to work with the dictionary makers in deciding on orthographies and spelling of particular words.

The cooperation between linguists and local orthography committees is critically important for the development of a suitable orthography. It is not simply a matter of the linguist presenting the local populace with a "linguistic" solution for the language which has a neat one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol. As Chomsky and Halle have pointed out (Chomsky and Halle, 1968), writing systems are for people who know the language. A linguist's writing system is for a very special purpose. It gives a wealth of detail that carries very little functional load. It would be tedious and pointless for native speakers of a language to include such superficial information in their writing system. For example, in English the regular past tense marker is -ed, as for example in the three verbs fainted, laughed, and cried. Notice, however, that the -ed is actually pronounced quite differently with the three different words. With faint it is pronounced /-id/, with laugh it is pronounced /t/ and with cry it is pronounced /d/. Since native speakers of English all know the simple set of rules which govern the pronunciation of the regular past tense marker, there is no need to spell -ed three different ways. In other words, writing systems do not reflect what native speakers can predict by general rule.

There are many other examples that illustrate the same point. To take two more, the word seamstress is actually pronounced with a /p/ between the /m/ and the /s/: /siympstris/. This particular /p/ is of no importance because the rules of English pronunciation are such that when a speaker goes from the /m/ to the /s/, the /p/ is automatically made as a transition sound. We know that a /p/ in that particular position just does not count, and therefore should not be reflected in the writing system. (Notice that the spelling of proper names is much less consistent. That is why the family name /simpson/ is sometimes spelled Simpson and sometimes Simson but pronounced the same way.) The second example is the word input. When we pronounce the nasal in the first syllable we anticipate the /p/ that begins the second syllable and thus usually pronounce the word as /imput/.

The last example is quite revealing of a general principle of orthographies. The spelling of a word is not solely dependent on the actual pronunciation of the word, but also reflects the make-up of the word. In the case of input, we know that the word comes from a combination of the preposition in plus the verb put. If we were to spell the combined word as it is actually pronounced, /imput/, we would be disguising the parts the word is made

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from. Consequently, construction of a good orthography relies heavily on the word sense of native speakers of the language; it is not something that a visiting expert in linguistics can accomplish overnight, even with the benefits of modern technology.

Charles A. Ferguson's brief but seminal article (Ferguson, 1968) gives three dimensions in measuring the stages of language development: graphization (the development of orthography), standardization ("the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm--the 'best' form of the language--rated above regional and social dialects" (p. 31)), and modernization (the development of new vocabulary to deal with new things and concepts and the development of new styles and forms of discourse, especially those that are appropriate for non-fiction prose).

The process of putting the vernacular language into writing involves more than just graphization. It frequently raises serious questions of standardization that the spoken language skirts. For example, suppose there is an island with two different dialects, and part of the dialect difference is in the pronunciation of a particular set of sounds. The writing system must choose which dialect will be the basis for the written language--the words must be spelled either one way or the other. Often socio-linguistic factors--dialect of the main urban area versus the dialect of the country-side, for example--make the choice easy. Other times, the factors are balanced and then the choice becomes controversial and political.

It seems to this writer that modernization of vocabulary does not appear to be a matter of great concern in the Pacific. For example, in observing high school classes, I often noticed that the discussion of the English textbook would drift from English to the vernacular. During this discussion, students and teachers alike would casually convert any necessary English technical terms into vernacular words. Probably not all speakers of Pacific language are equally willing to readily accept creolized foreign borrowings into their language, but nevertheless, the amount of modernization through borrowing was impressive.

The role that vernacular language will play in the curriculum of Pacific islands is obviously dependent on many factors. However, it seems clear that for most islands, the cost of developing extensive materials for teaching a variety of subjects at the high school level renders a complete shift to the vernacular out of the question as the sole medium of instruction.

In addition to this purely economic consideration, residents of small Pacific islands are acutely aware of the practical need for knowing a world language. For good or for bad, even these isolated dots of land are caught up in the sweep of world events and are enmeshed in 20th century economics. If they are to do business with the outside world, it is not going to be in their language. Furthermore, world languages are going to play the role of the lingua franca in any kind of commerce between different islands. This is especially compounded by the need for internal communication between political units that have been established by the accident of colonial history. The Trust Territory is a clear case in point.

There is a great variety in the extent that the vernacular language is used in the elementary grades. Some school systems begin initial reading instruction in the vernacular and then shift to English as the main medium of instruction, while others even teach initial literacy in English. In those islands where dual medium bilingual educational programs are being implemented, development of material for the first few grades usually has highest priority. It is hoped that teaching initial literacy in the student's own language will reduce reading problems and perhaps even foster a more positive attitude towards school. Nearly all the districts of the Trust Territory have begun such a project. Eventually many programs hope to be able to offer some instruction in the vernacular languages all throughout the elementary grades, but even then the vernacular instruction would be limited to local topics introduced into the social studies and language arts area. For example, the Trust Territory has established a project mostly under Title VII to

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develop written material in the vernacular language for upper elementary social studies (the Micronesian Culture and Language Project--commonly known as MICAL).

One difficulty that the vernacular programs face is opposition from the parents. The parents can see a practical benefit for their children learning English, but cannot see a corresponding need to be instructed in their own language. Carol Mihalko, the director of a dual medium bilingual project in the Marianas Islands, reports that her biggest obstacle in establishing the program was concern from the parents that their children would be handicapped in their acquisition of English. On the other hand, after a dual medium bilingual program has been established, the parents often become quite supportive because for the first time they can become involved in their children's schooling through the children's use of vernacular materials. One principal of an elementary school in the Trust Territory that was a pilot school for a bilingual program said that the increased parent participation was in itself ample justification for a dual medium bilingual approach.

In the long run, the place of the vernacular language in the curriculum of Pacific Island schools depends on the balance between the vernacular language and the world language in the community at large. Even if the community supports the use of the vernacular language in the educational system, the vernacular language must play a vital role in community life if it is not to become moribund. Many Pacific Islands are becoming aware that the continued existence of their language is not something that can be taken for granted. It is possible to be concerned after it is too late to do anything about it, as for example in the belated attempt to restore Irish in Ireland (Macnamara, 1971).

Bilingual Education in Southeast Asia

Outside the Philippines, the term bilingual education is not much used in Southeast Asia, though it seems to me that the concept is of great importance in such countries as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, as well as in the Philippines. (For a discussion of bilingual education and language planning in Southeast Asia, see Noss, 1971.) All of these Southeast Asian countries share the common factor of a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous population. In these countries, the topic of which language or languages the education system will be conducted in is a highly sensitive matter. While there are important differences between these countries, they share the common desire to develop a sense of national identity out of their diverse population. They also all share the feeling that the establishment of a national language is an important part of developing national identity.

These Southeast Asian countries thus face problems in bilingual education that are partly similar and partly different from the problems faced by Pacific Islanders. With only few exceptions, and even those only in limited ways, the Pacific Islands are relatively homogeneous in language and culture. For them, bilingual education means striking a relationship between the local language and the world language, usually English. In these Southeast Asian countries, there is often a difference between the regional language and the national language. Consequently, the curriculum must often deal with three languages: local, national, and world. In addition there is often the additional problem of immigrant ethnic groups with their own language and culture in addition to the indigenous languages and cultures of the area--overseas Chinese are a common example.

In colonial days, most schools in these countries would be classified as single medium, converting to wider culture systems in Mackey's terms. The schools used the medium of a European world language (Dutch in the case of Indonesia, English in the case of Singapore and Malaysia, English or Spanish in the case of the Philippines). After independence the general tendency in all these countries has been towards dual medium curriculums with some combination of the national language and English. In Singapore where there are four official languages (English, Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin), elementary schools provide the various possibilities of having any two of the official languages as the languages of instruction, though in higher education the choice is usually limited to English and Mandarin.

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An inescapable consequence of spreading proficiency in the national language is a loss in proficiency in the world language. I am told that a drop in English proficiency is already quite noticeable in Malaysia. Part of the diminished status of the world language is due to a natural reaction against the language of the former colonial master. However, there is more to it than that. In the past, English (or Dutch or Spanish) played the role of the lingua franca for the country in roughly the same way that Latin was a lingua franca for medieval Europe. However, this crucial rule is now being taken over by the national language.

It is unlikely, however, that English will entirely disappear because it is still necessary as a language of international contact and because it is necessary as a language of learning in fields that are too specialized to warrant developing materials in the national language. However, English very likely will shift in status from a second language to a foreign language. For example, it might be required in the school system only for those students who hope to go on to the university. The school system would then be what Mackey calls a single medium, maintenance, narrower culture system.

With such a shift in the function of English, one would hope that there would be a realistic reappraisal of how English is taught. Unfortunately, part of the doctrine of English teaching by current methods is that it must be approached as an oral language even though a student's only need is the written language--one of the many side-effects of the "audiolingual" approach. However, there is growing realization that teaching English with such a heavy emphasis on oral skills is both unsuccessful and unnecessary.

Because of the larger number of people involved and the larger economic base, it is possible to teach the national language on a much larger scale than it is possible to teach the vernacular in the Pacific Islands. However, there are still many problems to overcome. Good, bad, or indifferent, there is a long tradition for English teaching. There is no such tradition for teaching national languages. Competent teachers must be found, curriculums developed, and materials written.

All of the national languages have well-established orthographies, though the remaining two problems in language development, standardization and modernization in Ferguson's terms, must still be contended with. Interestingly, the development of an expanded vocabulary seems to be a larger problem in those Southeast Asian countries than in Pacific Islands. Perhaps one reason is the greater physical size of the Southeast Asian countries and the consequent looser bonds of the communication network and also the greater immediate need for standardized terminologies in developing industrial economies. Another reason appears to be a more purist attitude towards borrowing foreign words than the Pacific Islanders have. Even if there is agreement on the need for borrowing, the diversity of cultures causes disagreement on the language that should be borrowed from. For example, here is a quote from S. Takdir Alisjahbana's description of the development of Indonesian national language:

> Some guidelines for the coining of modern terms were established. The order of preference for terms was as follows: Indonesian words, if possible; if not, then Asian words; and if not, then, international terms. Luckily, these guidelines were never literally applied. In most cases, the decision regarding a new term depended on the composition of the members present at a particular meeting. Those of Javanese origin usually preferred Sanskrit or old Javanese words. For the Javanese, these words carry high prestige since they belong to the thinking and feeling of the mysticofeudal sphere of the Old Javanese culture. The moslem group had a tendency to prefer words of Arabic origin. A third group preferred international terms. I myself preferred the third choice since it united Indonesia with the world of science and technology. (Alisjahbana, 1971, p. 183).

* * *

In this essay we have examined the development of bilingual education in three different areas of the world. Though each area has its own unique set of problems, the need for identity is a common concern. In all three areas bilingual education is seen as an agent of social change. In the United States, bilingual education is seen as a way of helping

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to preserve the identity of American Indians, eventually enabling them to move back and forth between their traditional culture and the main-stream American culture. In the Pacific Islands, bilingual education is seen as a way of reasserting the values of traditional ways of life as a counterbalance to the rapid changes introduced by western contact. In Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore, bilingual education is seen as necessary step in establishing a national identity in nations composed of many races and cultures.[2]

FOOTNOTES

[1]I would like to thank Dr. Evangelos Afendras for his comments on an early draft of this paper.

[2]For a general discussion of policies on bilingual education, see "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education" (UNESCO, 1951).

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